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PARENT TRAINING PROGRAMS, VALUES, AND RELATED ISSUES
CONCERNING THE CULTURALLY DIVERSE

by

Raina Ilene Jones

A Plan-B Paper submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

School Psychology

Approved:

UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah

2005

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ABSTRACT

Parent Training Programs, Values, and Related Issues

Concerning the Culturally Diverse

by

Raina Ilene Jones, Master of Science

Utah State University, 2005

Major Professor: Dr. Gretchen A. Gimpel
Department: Psychology

Few parent training programs that address the improvement of coercive or negative parent-child interactions in culturally diverse populations exist in the literature; of the few that do exist, there is sparse empirical information on program effectiveness. Because parent training is an effective way to address parent-child interaction, parent training programs are discussed in the context of the values of African Americans, Asian Americans, Caucasian Americans, Latino Americans, and Native Americans. A review of the literature on values and culturally-specific and culturally-adapted parenting programs was conducted as was a review of programs that have been modified for culturally diverse groups. Some of the programs reviewed are the *Effective Black Parenting Program*, a program delivered through the *Houston Parent-Child Development Center*, *Los Ninos Bien Educados*, a program delivered in the *Mercedes Independent School District*, *Positive Indian Parenting*, and the *Strengthening Families Program*.

Literature-based recommendations are offered for professionals seeking to improve intervention services to families of diverse cultural backgrounds.

(189 pages)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my grandmother, the late Marjorie Eva Hospers-Weeks. To you I owe so much. From childhood you supported me with love and encouragement in all things and your financial contributions and advance-planning helped make higher education a realization for me. I only wish you had lasted on this earth a few months longer to witness the completion of this project.

Grandma, this paper is dedicated especially to you for your enlightened way of crossing cultural barriers and permanently impacting the field of diversity and culture. I am in awe of the accomplishments you made in one lifetime and I look forward to the continued gifts of learning yet another way you touched a life. You were truly kind and amazing and honored in various communities and settings for your work. I will forever look to your example for guidance as you modeled loving patience through your living example of unconditional love, tolerance and acceptance. Your creativity and gift for bringing people together will be remembered by many. I am so blessed to have known you and to have you to remember always. Your strong presence on this earth will be greatly missed.

With much love and devotion,

Your granddaughter Raina

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I would like to thank Dr. Gretchen Gimpel for the diligent and outstanding effort she put forth to assist me in editing and directing the writing of this project. I would also like to thank Dr. Carolyn Barcus and Dr. Donna Gilbertson for taking the time and interest to assist in this project.

I especially would like express my gratitude to Travis for the unconditional support you have offered throughout the past five years. I thank you for your patience and encouragement and for the support with our son. To Sunnie, the light of my life, thank you for enduring many hours of “mom” working when it would have been much more fun to play. I would also like to thank my father for the morale support and for modeling the path of seeking higher education. Thank you to my mom for the unconditional love and encouragement in every path I ever chose to pursue. To grandpa and grandma, thank you for your financial and spiritual support and for the stability you’ve offered me; I also appreciate you both as wonderful role models.

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INTRODUCTION

Effective parenting is considered to be an important moderator of healthy families; unfortunately not all parents utilize effective skills. For those who wish to improve their skills, parent training can be a useful tool. However, how well parent training programs apply to parents of differing culture or socioeconomic class has been questioned. Some claim that the typical parent training program is predominantly based on the values of Caucasian middle-class parents who differ in important ways from families of ethnically different or lower socioeconomic status (Alvy, 1994; Atkinson, 1997; Garcia-Coll, Meyer, & Brillon, 1995; Lynch & Hansen, 1998). Mainstream programs that are based on middle-class, Caucasian values may be ineffective for parents of different backgrounds and therefore, it may be inappropriate to assume that the procedures involved in these programs will generalize to all cultural groups (Wood & Baker, 1999).

Although there is disagreement over whether standard parenting programs apply to all parents, there is a general consensus that there are true differences in childrearing practices and beliefs among families with different socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds (Strom, Griswold, & Slaughter, 1981). These differences may necessitate different parenting approaches (Garcia-Coll et al., 1995; Hoff-Ginsberg & Tardiff, 1995; Wood & Baker, 1999). Even though programs may be designed with middle-class values in mind, research on parent training programs has included lower socioeconomic status (SES) populations but few parent training programs are specifically designed for individuals who live in poverty. Even fewer programs are culturally-specific to ethnically

diverse populations. Most of the research conducted thus far, utilizes similar solutions for similar problems; however, people from different cultural backgrounds may prefer alternative solutions (Anderson, 1999; DuBray, 1985; Tulloch, 1997; Webster-Stratton, 1998b).

A consequence of not having culturally-specific programs is that services may not be culturally sensitive and thus, may be ineffective and higher rates of attrition may occur (DuBray, 1985; McCollum, 1997; Miller, 1997; Sutherland, 1983). Also, practitioners may modify parenting programs on their own, which often requires a level of cross-cultural competence that may require additional training. Cross-cultural competence involves the facilitator being aware of his/her own attitudes and cultural values as well as the values of other cultures and then being able to recognize and accommodate differences. The development of one's personal awareness as well as the awareness of other group perspectives and values is an ongoing practice and the American Psychological Association (APA; 2003) invites professionals to continually improve these skills and also encourages professionals-in-training to seek programs that incorporate multicultural themes.

When parent training imposes foreign childrearing values and practices, families are likely to feel deficient or to not connect with the goals of the program; this may then lead to high drop-out rates (McAdoo, 1981; Sutherland, 1983). Program selection must consider cultural variables in order to effectively implement change in families (Alvy, 1987; Callias, 1994; Lieh-Mak, Lee, & Luk, 1984; Strom et al., 1981; Sutherland). It is speculated that behavioral approaches are useful when working with culturally diverse

populations (Maulsby 1982); however, this notion has not been sufficiently validated for families from diverse backgrounds. Specific cultural characteristics and the interplay between values and important child and parent variables are not always considered in the research that supports these approaches.

Complicating the investigation of the appropriateness of parent training programs for those of differing ethnic backgrounds, is the frequent confounding of ethnicity and SES (Graham, 1992). Ethnicity and minority status are frequently correlated with lower SES and people of color are over represented in persistent poverty levels (Garcia-Coll et al., 1995; Hoff-Ginsberg & Tardiff, 1995). Thus, it is difficult to separate the effects of SES and culture and the American Psychological Association has recommended that culture should be treated as a specific variable that is central to data analysis and interpretation (APA, 2003). When SES is controlled for, research shows that culture influences parenting styles (Fleming, 1992). Because research has not always controlled for and separately analyzed the confounding effects of these two important variables, the utility and generalization of parenting programs to parents of differing ethnic and socioeconomic status may be questionable (Bartz & Levine, 1978; Dupree, Spencer, & Bell, 1997; Garcia-Coll et al.; Holden, Lavigne, & Cameron, 1990; Myers et al., 1992).

The purpose of this paper is to explore how cultural values may impact parent training that involves a dyadic model of treating negative or coercive parent-child interactions. In hopes of creating awareness of the differences in values of culturally diverse groups, as well as how they conflict with dominant Anglo values, the bulk of this paper will focus on a discussion of values of different cultural groups. Hopefully, this discussion will

highlight issues for professionals to consider when working with diverse populations. Parent training programs that are culturally-specific to African American, Asian American, Latino American, and Native American families, will be discussed in terms of cultural specifications as well as their efficacy. Finally, a discussion of literature-based recommendations for conducting parent training with culturally diverse populations will be presented to guide and encourage readers who work with such families to acknowledge and incorporate cultural values.

The paper will begin with a general description of standard parent training with a main focus on behaviorally oriented programs. Next will be a section discussing both general values and parenting practices that are specific to the four ethnic groups represented in this paper as well as the most common comparison group, Anglo-Americans. A description of parenting programs that claim to be culturally-specific or modified will follow and finally, there will be a discussion of the various barriers to the effective implementation of parent training programs and recommendations identified in the literature to overcome them.

The paper should be read in the context of knowing that cross-cultural research is difficult to conduct because studying values is extremely complex and there are many facets. Although it is a start, only studying values is over-simplistic and distorting if one wants to truly understand another culture (Green, 1995; Hayes, 1997). It should be noted that prior to 1970, much of the literature was based on negative stereotypes that depicted cultural inferiority rather than fact-based empiricism that was founded in a perspective of cultural equivalence (Staples & Mirande, 1980). The individual client is the best source

of information and should be treated as the expert on his/her own specific, individualized cultural values because it would be impossible for one to become cross-culturally competent from solely reading literature on various cultural values (Jones, 1985; McCollum, 1997; Sadowsky & Johnson, 1993; Thomason, 1991).

How a person comes to adopt a value is complicated by many social factors and the methods used to ascertain such unobservable concepts are likely to miss important information or to be unintentionally biased. A researcher's own frame of reference easily influences cultural interpretations and thus, cultural specifics may be overlooked and observations and empirical interpretations may be slanted (Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake, & Morelli, 2000; Sue & Sundberg, 1996). In addition, cultural practices and beliefs change with time and with increased exposure to other cultural groups.

Many culturally and ethnically diverse people live between the extremes of traditionality and complete assimilation in "dominant" values and it is common for individuals to feel conflicted as they are walking in two worlds (Little Soldier, 1992). In addition, it is important to consider that values do not necessarily predict actual behavior (Cagan, 1994; Williams, 1990). While some values are clear and obvious, others are less apparent. In fact, people may not even be aware of the values they hold until they are in a situation where their values are personalized, challenged, or somehow made more evident (Cagan). Any one person or family from any particular ethnic group may also share in other value systems and there are as many within-group differences as there are between-group differences.

Understanding parenting practices of different cultures is complicated by variables

related to values such as SES, degree of ethnic identity, acculturation and traditionality, generational status, and experiences of prejudice, oppression, and immigration (Forehand & Kotchick, 1996; Knight, Virdin, & Roosa, 1994). Besides specific cultural factors, important parent variables that influence parenting practices in general include substance abuse, psychological distress, family instability, marital satisfaction, maternal network support, and level of education (Cagan, 1994; Cervantes & Cervantes, 1993; Forehand & Long, 1988; Jennings, Stagg, & Connors, 1991; LaFromboise, Trimble, & Mohatt, 1990; Laosa, 1981; Webster-Stratton, 1990). Child variables, such as disposition, personality, and social and academic competence, also have important effects (Callias, 1994; Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1999). Because research has not adequately addressed how these factors influence parenting (Forehand & Kotchick), the complex manifestations of these variables will not be reviewed in this paper; however, the reader should still consider the possible effects each one has on parenting.

Standard Parenting Programs

Parent training is based, in part, on the premise that misbehavior is unintentionally reinforced through maladjusted parent-child interactions (Kazdin, 1987) and that parenting skills are an important mediator in the interactional relationship. Specifically, harsh or inconsistent discipline, low parental monitoring and permissiveness, and inadequate problem-solving are thought to contribute to social and behavioral problems in children (Patterson, Forgatch, Yoerger, & Stoolmiller, 1998; Webster-Stratton, 1997). Researchers have alleged that the parent-child relationship is bi-directional in that both

parent and child characteristics influence behavior and mutually effect relationship dynamics (Kandel, 1992; Kazdin; Lytton, 1990; Vuchinich, Bank, & Patterson, 1992; Wahler & Dumas, 1986).

Parent training focuses on helping parents learn effective strategies to increase their children's prosocial behaviors and decrease disruptive and inappropriate behaviors. Discipline strategies addressed endorse alternatives to physical discipline. This may be because research related to aggressive child behavior has been linked to the use of physical discipline. Although parents may rate physical discipline as least desirable, many parents, regardless of ethnicity, view physical discipline as effective in achieving compliance and believe it will lead to appropriate future behavior (Holden, Miller, & Harris, 1999). However, social scientists have not come to a consensus on the long term effects of the use of corporal punishment--while some debate that cultural context is an important variable, others maintain that regardless of ethnicity, children who are frequently spanked are more likely to exhibit antisocial behavior.

When parents demonstrate more warmth and child-involvement, and more appropriate and consistent discipline, children benefit (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1999). Parents can learn these skills through parent training and although there are a variety of parent training programs, including Adlerian, interpersonal, behavioral, and eclectic, behaviorally based programs show especially promising results (Merrell, 1987). Because behavioral parent training allows parents to take control and engage in practical skills that focus on problem-solving for immediate concerns, some recommend this approach as an appropriate intervention for families from culturally diverse

backgrounds (Iwamasa, 1993; Maultsby, 1982). Also, behavioral parent training employs time-limited sessions that are goal oriented and thus, these approaches may be more economical for families with time and/or financial constraints.

Behavioral parent training. Behavioral parent training focuses on promoting parenting skills through social learning and modifying the environment because behavior is often a function of environmental contingencies (Griest & Wells, 1983). Parents learn to reinforce appropriate child behavior as well as to increase parental monitoring, positive attention, and noncoercive and consistent discipline (Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1999; Forehand & Long, 1988; Lafferty, 1993). Modeling and didactic instruction are often used to teach the parenting skills and families are given opportunities to practice through role-playing that may include feedback from the trainer as well as homework activities (Callias, 1994; Forehand & Long). Another objective of parent training may be for behavior to generalize across settings and parents are taught prompts to help engage the child in appropriate behavior outside of the training setting.

The basic principles of behavioral parent training involve consequences that are contingent upon behavior (Merrell, 1987). Parents learn to provide precise commands that clearly describe the behavior they would like the child to display (Forehand & Long, 1988); then parents deliver reinforcement for appropriate behavior and ignore or present negative consequences for inappropriate behavior. Parents might reward appropriate child-behavior with specific praise, positive attention, or with positive consequences that involve activities or objects the child finds desirable. Negative consequences for

misbehavior might involve time-out or response-cost techniques.

Outcomes of parent training. Research has consistently shown that standard parent training programs increase parenting competence (Alvy, 1987), involve parents more in their child's schooling, and decrease child deviant, noncompliant, and conduct problem behaviors (Graziano & Diament, 1992; Webster-Stratton, 1998a). Parents may even learn to perceive child misbehavior differently (Griest et al., 1982; Griest & Wells, 1983). Empirical outcome studies have shown behavioral parent training to be effective for decreasing externalizing child behavior problems and increasing parenting skills (Alvy; Callias, 1994; Conduct Problems Prevention Research Group, 1999; Forehand & Long, 1988; Graziano & Diament; Kazdin, 1987).

Despite its positive outcomes, parent training in general, has been criticized for not incorporating the cultural values of diverse populations and it is still an empirical question as to whether parent training needs to cater more specifically to families of diverse backgrounds (Alvy, 1994; Tulloch, 1997). Lafferty (1993) surveyed parents who were involved in various types of parent training and reported that Latino American and Caucasian American parents found programs to be the most culturally appropriate while Asian American and African American participants disagreed most with the cultural content; Native American parents were not surveyed. These results need replication and the specific components that caused participants to rate the programs as culturally appropriate or inappropriate need to be identified.

CULTURAL AND PARENTING CHARACTERISTICS

The following discussion on the cultural characteristics of African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino Americans, Native Americans, and Caucasian Americans is presented with the hopes of helping practitioners become more aware of cultural values and characteristics so that the effectiveness of parent training can be optimized while incorporating cultural uniqueness. The values discussed are not meant to inclusively capture any particular culture or to describe all members of any particular ethnic group. Rather, they are discussed in terms of generalities that serve as possibilities because values may or may not be adhered to on an individual level. Also, any comparisons between groups are discussed in terms of differences and do not suggest deviance.

Although some feel cultural comparison studies are not appropriate because they focus on separation and because ethnicity is often confounded with SES levels (Blueston & Tamis-LeMonda, 1999), others reason that when properly done, cultural comparisons can offer an understanding of important differences and thus, professionals can incorporate culturally relevant practices into treatment (Chung, 1992). In addition, level of acculturation or traditionality (which may be affected by the number of generations and the length of time spent in the United States, as well as SES, gender, education levels, language proficiency, and traditionality or biethnicity) is important to consider because it can affect the degree to which a person accepts the values of the dominant culture (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Hayes, 1997). Family traditions and history provide insight into

each cultural group, but it is important to realize the heterogeneity within each ethnic group and its members (McAdoo, 1981; McCollum, 1997).

Also relevant, is that most research is qualitative. The benefits of employing this type of research in the area of parenting is that qualitative research has captured the nature of parenting in a way that quantitative research has not; a richer, fuller view of parenting attitudes, beliefs, and theories that compose parenting practices is provided from somewhat of an anthropological perspective (Sutherland, 1983). The literature on general cultural and parenting characteristics is mainly theory-based and utilizes theoretical perspectives, clinical reports, and cultural observations. However, parenting characteristics are also quantitatively measured with self-report inventories, interviews, and observations (Hoff-Ginsberg & Tardiff, 1995).

African American Values

Most of the literature on African American values includes a discussion about the history of the African American family. An historical perspective delineates how slavery, and the following perpetual minority experience, has shaped the culture. Before slavery occurred, African American families were characterized by interconnectedness and commitment to the total group (Spencer, Brookins, & Allen, 1985). While threads of interconnectedness still exist, slavery altered the African American family unit as it separated family members and degraded self-esteem (Comer, 1980). The slavery experience, as well as discrimination and racism, are powerful forces that continue to shape African American culture and values. An attitude of overcoming, resilience, and

the need to survive and adapt continues to reinforce a variety of cultural practices including affiliation with close-knit social networks that involve extended family and the church (Willis, 1992).

This section discusses the general values regarding the interrelatedness between spirituality, social networks, extended family, and specific childrearing and socialization values. Because the topics of discipline and African American parenting are frequently co-discussed in the literature, a discussion of African American discipline styles will also be included. The philosophy behind using physical discipline is discussed in terms of its use and purpose in African American parenting and its implication for parent-training programs.

General values.

Oral traditions and communication styles. Tradition is transmitted through folktale and proverbs, which are often passed down from generation to generation through elders, extended family, or church organizations and this collective knowledge is important, especially when raising children is concerned (Claire, 1994; McDavis, Parker, & Parker, 1995; Mosley-Howard & Evans, 2000; Page & Washington, 1987; White, 1984).

Common African American motifs include a strong work ethic, assertiveness, perseverance, independence, self-sufficiency, and quick thinking under pressure (Mitchell-Jackson, 1982). Group equality and protecting group members, family connectedness, and reverence for the mother's role in the family, as well as positive image of self, culture, and racial attitudes are also important themes (Garcia-Coll et al.,

1995; Leslie, 1998; McAdoo, 1991; Willis, 1992).

Many of the oral traditions employ humor, an important social skill that inspires a sense of psychological freedom in times of struggle (White, 1984; Willis, 1992). White (1984) describes the African American art of verbal exchange as utilizing metaphors, analogies, and “an elaborate system of sociolinguistic codes and categories” (p. 91) that encourages the development of abstract thinking and logical reasoning. Nonverbal cues as well as verbal communication are characteristic of how one gathers an impression of another and one’s “gut feeling” is highly validated (Willis). Children develop an auditory-oral learning style as they engage in dialogue that is based on reciprocal participation of both speaker and listener; this has been called the “response-call” technique (Kochman, 1990; White). Such participatory communication is emotionally fervent and spirited, and is characteristic of dynamic physical and verbal interaction where the listener chimes in with the speaker through overt verbal exclamation as well as expressive body language (Kochman; White; Willis).

Of course, vitality and expression may become inhibited around unfamiliar persons. Sue and Sue (1990) describes African American expression with other African Americans as playful and expressive; however, interaction with Caucasian Americans may be more subdued and formal. Daniel and Smitherman-Donaldson (1990) as well as Kochman (1990) note that those who are accustomed to more passive listening styles may perceive verbal participation as disruptive and physical participation as aggressive. When teacher and student backgrounds differ, it becomes possible for the teacher to misinterpret language, behavior, affect, or cognitive styles and African American children may be

penalized for what is appropriate expression from the child's frame of reference. White (1984) found that in a school setting, teachers rated ethnically diverse children lower on appropriate behaviors than Caucasian children from similar backgrounds and this may be because the teacher misinterpreted a child's culturally appropriate behavior as aggressive or defiant. Nobles (1986) found that behaviors that African American teachers interpret as energetic and enthusiastic, Caucasian teachers perceive as hyperactive, defiant, and maladjusted.

Collective spirituality. The spiritual aliveness and collective orientation of many African Americans today is one example of the residual effects of oppression. Slavery propelled families into close-knit communities that became a source of support and compassion. Uniting out of a common disturbing experience, African Americans found an outlet to celebrate free expression through religious ceremonies and the church community became a part of the family that continues to buffer adversity (Comer, 1980; Baldwin, Baldwin, & Cole, 1990; Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Hurd, Moore, & Rogers 1995; McDavis et al., 1995; Paniagua, 1994; Taylor & Chatters, 1990). The church was, and still is, the foundation of the family and is a source of strength--particularly for women (Alvy, 1987; Daniel & Smitherman-Donaldson, 1990; McAdoo, 1990; McDade, 1995; Mosley-Howard & Evans, 2000; Scott & Black, 1991; Willis, 1992). In several communities, it is a highly public institution that is evident and visible (Washington, 1993).

Religion is viewed as a tool to "uplift the race" because it provides an understanding of Christian morals and influences many aspects of life (Poole, 1990; Scanzoni, 1971).

Values regarding interdependence and community service as well as love and forgiveness are reinforced through the church (Scanzoni). Perseverance is also emphasized because life obstacles are seen as an inevitable part of personal growth (White, 1984). The idea that life is supposed to be fair is seen as an illusion and when injustice or problems arise, people may pray to God to reveal a solution or they may pursue an active stance of evoking God and commanding intervention (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Hurd et al., 1995; Lewis, 1975; White). A minister is frequently consulted for all types of problems, including child-related academic or behavior problems (Hampson, Beavers, & Hulgus, 1990; McDavis et al., 1995). Other sources of help include folk healers and family, community members, or friends are often sought out before professionals or books and videos (Hines & Boyd-Franklin; McDade, 1995; Mosley-Howard & Evans, 2000; Paniagua, 1994). When professional services are utilized, personal information is not quickly disclosed (McCollum, 1997; Priest, 1991).

Diversity in family structure. Like the church community, the extended kinship system provides a range of financial, cultural, emotional, and familial supports (Alvy, 1987; McAdoo, 1978). Although Baumrind (1995) purports that the extended family is deteriorating, strong familial bonds of the extended family system is generally depicted and this system is often characterized as offering protection against the chronic physical and emotional stressors associated with racism, discrimination, low education, and substandard wages and living conditions (Cagan, 1994; Comer, 1980; Halpern, 1990; Richards, 1997; Scott & Black, 1991; Spencer et al., 1985; Sudarkasa, 1993; Wilson, 1986). Kin systems might include grandparents, aunts and uncles, and "fictive kin" who

can be friends of the primary parents or of the family (Scott & Black; Wilson).

“Mothering” can be shared between biological mothers as well as “othermothers” who might be grandmothers, aunts, or cousins as well as neighbors (Collins, 1991; Paniagua, 1994). Grandparents may raise children while the parents of the children work or obtain education and the dominant role of the grandmother may be especially meaningful because she shares wisdom that preserves the family and its history (Hill-Lubin, 1991; McAdoo, 1990). Really, anyone who partakes in childrearing may be included in the family (Hurd et al., 1995; McDavis et al., 1995; Priest, 1991).

The kinship system stems from traditional African culture and was further reinforced in America during the slavery era when African Americans endured hardships by turning to one another for childcare, transportation, and economic and emotional needs. Out of camaraderie for survival, homes were opened to one another and as a result, family boundaries became relaxed and bloodlines did not dictate family membership (Comer, 1980; White, 1984). Formal adoption is common; informal, or short-term adoption is especially useful in crisis situations that include parental death or illness, adverse financial or domestic circumstances, or an unwanted pregnancy (Billingsley, 1992; Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Crosbie-Burnett & Lewis, 1993; Greene, 1995). Some compare the extended family structure to that of divorced families because of similar issues regarding family roles and membership extensions (Crosbie-Burnett & Lewis). The definition of family may need to be redefined and expanded when working with African American families (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Priest, 1991; Todisco & Salomone, 1991).

Sudarkasa (1993) offers a view of family structure in a discussion of monogamy

between African American men and women. It is explained that because the sex ratio between males and females in African American communities is unequal, potential husbands are scarce (Hildebrand, Phenice, Gray, & Hines, 1996; Staples, 1992; Sudarkasa; Taylor & Chatters, 1990; White, 1984). As a result, relationship patterns might involve a wife who demands public respect and legal spousal recognition but she may also tolerate infidelities because she would share her husband with "outside wives" rather than lose him completely (Sudarkasa). This aspect of interpersonal relationships may be an adaptive response to adverse social, demographic, economic, and political circumstances that contribute to the scarcity of African American men who are more likely to experience earlier deaths, incarceration, execution, or migration to find work (Sudarkasa; Tolnay, 1997).

There are numerous variations in possible family structures and SES is likely to contribute. Wilkinson (1997) distinguishes families in poverty from non-poor working class families and explores the idea that impoverished families are more likely to be female-headed while working-, middle-, and upper-class families are more often two-parent households. Queen and Habenstein (1974) delineate two general types of African American families and Eshleman (1985) writes about these same family dynamics, but includes a "patriarchal affluent family pattern" as well. The affluent pattern is described as a patriarchal household where financial issues are not of concern and the mother may or may not work; this type of family is predicted to be the most stable (Eshleman).

Queen and Habenstein (1974) describe the "acculturated middle majority Black family" as being similar to the Caucasian middle-class family that is characterized as a

small, nuclear family living in a home that commonly has two parents who value monogamy. Although there is kinship with extended family members, there is little cohabitation. A mother, who provides emotional support, and a father, who serves as role model and disciplinarian, primarily share in parenting. Both parents are dedicated to providing an economically thriving home that is stable. They may indulge their children and have high hopes for future educational and cultural endeavors.

In another type of family, the "urban matricentric family", marriage or childbirth typically occur at an early age and it is not uncommon for a woman in her thirties to be a grandmother who assumes primary responsibility for raising her own children as well as her grandchildren (Borland, 1982). An African American child may be born to an unmarried or never married mother and thus, may be raised in a female-headed household where the grandmother or the mother may be the central figure (Billingsley, 1992; George & Dickerson, 1995; Pinkston & Smith, 1998; Queen & Habenstein, 1974).

Although marriage and becoming pregnant after marriage is preferable, it is reasoned that there are not a lot of potential male partners and therefore, divorce or out-of-wedlock births are usually not stigmatizing to either parent or child within the social exchange system (Billingsley, 1992; Broderick, 1965; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Kulesky & Obordo, 1972; McKenry & Fine, 1993; Williams, 1991; Wilson, 1986). With a relaxed view of sex and marriage, single fecundity, marriage, and family life are seen as separate decisions that do not necessarily co-occur (Slaughter, 1988). The single-parent household is not seen as deficient or "broken" and values concerning out-of-wedlock pregnancies lessen shame and isolation from the community (McKenry & Fine).

Socio-cultural acceptance toward unwed pregnant mothers in the African American community also plays a part in a young mother's decision to have and then keep a child born out of wedlock. Illegitimacy rates exemplify cultural differences regarding attitudes and values concerning abortion. Both current and earlier research show a fairly steady trend that African American women are more likely to have a nonmarital birth than Caucasian American or Latino American women (Henshaw & Feivelson, 2000; Herndon, Strauss, & Whitehead, 2002; Koonin, Strauss, Chrisman, & Parker, 1997; Zelnik & Kantner, 1974). Although the father may not live in the home, he may still be actively involved in the lives of his offspring; if he is not, a positive male role model probably is (Hurd et al., 1995). Whether or not the child's biological father is involved, he may provide financial support and the paternal extended family may still assume involvement (Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Randolph, 1995; Sudarkasa, 1993). Extended family support may allow African American adolescent mothers more flexible roles than teenage mothers without such family support; they may spend less time in child-care tasks and more time socializing with peers or on self-improvement such as finishing high school (Colletta & Lee, 1986; Taylor & Chatters, 1990; Wilson, 1989).

Regardless of ethnicity, young mothers in general are at risk for dropping out of school and experiencing persistent financial difficulties and they may experience stress from prematurely assuming adult responsibilities (Daniel & Smitherman-Donaldson, 1990; Slaughter, 1988). In addition, both mother and child are at risk for suffering pre- and post-natal problems if the mother is young (Barnett, 1991). However, African American cultural attitudes toward illegitimacy and children as well as the flexible family structure

may alleviate some of the challenges associated with teenage pregnancy. The hazards of being a young mother may be lessened for African American adolescent mothers who live in multi-generational or extended family environments (Jarrett, 1995; McKenry & Fine, 1993; McLeod, Kruttschnitt, & Dornfeld, 1994; Randolph, 1995; Wilson, 1986).

Despite the general consensus that the flexible and extended family structure offers several benefits to the young or single-parent family, there are drawbacks (Hatchett & Jackson, 1993). Resentment may result when there is intergenerational conflict between the teenage mother and extended family members regarding childrearing values (Williams, 1991). Also, in some extended family situations unclear boundaries lead to role confusion. The child who is primarily raised by his/her grandmother, may come to see his/her own mother as a sibling and later, the child may experience role confusion if the biological mother wants to take on a "mother role". Adjustment problems may arise when an informal adoption that was perceived as permanent by any person involved, must later be relinquished (Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Randolph, 1995).

Social exchange system: reciprocity and communal childrearing. Many people--extended family, church, and community members--frequently interact to allow an ongoing mutual exchange of various types of support (Hatchett & Jackson, 1993; Sue & Sue, 1999). Although Uttal (1999) reports that reciprocity involves social obligations that sometimes impinge upon an individual's true desires (e.g., a mother may feel obligated to pay a family member for childcare services even when she prefers the quality of someone else's services), it is a common view that children benefit from this exchange system and its inherent reciprocity (George & Dickerson, 1995). In some cases, a helpful family

member may stabilize a child's attachment reactions when victimized by abuse or neglect and adolescents may even exhibit less deviant and antisocial behaviors than children raised by only one parent (Baumrind, 1995; Dornbusch et al., 1985; Egeland & Sroufe, 1981; Jackson, 1995; Jarrett, 1995).

McAdoo (1978) concluded that the most important service provided by the social exchange system was childcare. It is common tradition for close-knit social networks, which include kin and non-kin, to participate in a flexible family structure to work cooperatively to raise children (Lum, 1992). Communalism, an enduring strength of African American families, is emphasized in the socialization process (Bulcroft, Carmody, & Bulcroft, 1996) and is exemplified in the African proverb "It takes a village to raise a child" (Greene, 1995; McAdoo; McCollum, 1997; Miller, 1997). It is believed that communal childrearing optimizes the child's nurturance and well being because the quality of childcare is increased (Taylor & Chatters, 1990; Wilson, 1989).

Time orientation. Besides flexible family structures, time is also flexible. The high value placed on process, rather than outcome, promotes communication and problem-solving skills that are imbedded in interpersonal relationships (Priest, 1991; White, 1984). Time is marked by social events such as births, funerals, and weddings and although planning is important, a present and past focus may be more predominant than a future orientation (Ford, 1996; Mitchell-Jackson, 1982). Time is viewed as fluid, cyclical, and open rather than linear so being present and participating in a social event takes precedence over being on time (Daniel & Smitherman-Donaldson, 1990; Nobles, 1986). African American clients may be deemed as late for appointments because the value

placed on time differs from the mainstream value where time is regimented and promptness is expected (Flowers, 1972; White). In some cases however, tardiness may be due to transportation problems or to behavior associated with lower SES that has been shaped by a government system that often involves long waiting periods for appointments (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982).

Specific socialization and childrearing values.

Childhood and motherhood. The African-American family has been described as a pedi-focal family system where children and the role of motherhood are highly valued and it is seen as a privilege to be a part of a child's nurturance (Hammer & Turner, 1996; McAdoo, 1991; Priest, 1991). Parents feel it is important to be involved with their children and to include family members in this connection (Hurd et al., 1995). It may be that for the first few years of life, immediate and extended family members shower the child with attention and meet the child's needs before the adult's (Crosbie-Burnett & Lewis, 1993; Lewis, 1975; Slaughter, 1988). The high level of interaction during infancy may enhance intellectual as well as social development and self-esteem (Slaughter; White, 1984). Around age three, a child is expected to assume more self-reliance and begin to prepare to reciprocate to others; it is through this process that a child learns to become loyal to the group as well as independent and socially responsible (Hurd et al.; Lewis).

The value placed on motherhood is socialized in childhood and through reciprocal social responsivity, a child learns to become a "nurse child" or "parent child" who

assumes some of the responsibility for siblings (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Lewis, 1975; McCollum, 1997; Paniagua, 1994; Williams, 1991). The reciprocal nature of the mother-child relationship promotes a lifelong bond where the mother may be the central figure in the children's lives--particularly her son's (Staples, 1992). The role of mother may be more important than the role of wife and it is unusual for an African American woman to not bear children (Staples). Motherhood may start and end early in life and the status of motherhood is venerated and is looked upon as a rite of passage into adulthood (Collins, 1991; Hildebrand et al., 1996).

Social order: interdependence and synthesis. Because the individual is defined in context of the group, children are taught that the group takes priority over personal gain (Cheatham, 1990; Parham, 1996). Cooperative interdependence, collective responsibility to the group, and balanced reciprocity are encouraged as are obedience to authority, and respect for elders and others (Allen, 1981; Cheatham; Fleming, 1992; Ford, 1996; Forehand & Kotchick, 1996; Hurd et al., 1995; McAdoo, 1978; Sutherland, 1983; Todisco & Salomone, 1991; Willis, 1992). Ambition, strong will to persevere in the face of adversity, and making positive out of negative are also valued (Allen; Cheatham; Comer, 1980; Forehand & Kotchick; Randolph, 1995; White, 1984). Children are expected to develop noncompetitive independence and to compete with oneself rather than with others (Peters, 1981; Richards, 1997). Uniqueness, while still maintaining loyalty to the group, is displayed in strong individuality that is expressed in the ability to achieve great interpersonal connectedness; this is judged on personal attributes such as wit, intelligence, emotional strength, and interpersonal skills that include friendship and

the ability to reciprocate (Lewis, 1975; Washington, 1993).

Racial and cultural identity. One of the goals of childrearing focuses on educating children about both overt and covert forms of racism and its impact on well being (Greene, 1995; Hurd et al., 1995; Mosley-Howard & Evans, 2000; Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993; Willis, 1992). Racial socialization is a process that informs the child about the history of African Americans as a people and although some parents choose to discuss the issue only if the child brings it up, many children are prepared for the possibility of encountering racism and are taught strategies to cope with discrimination (Cagan, 1994; Crosbie-Burnett & Lewis, 1993; Garcia-Coll et al., 1995; McDade, 1995; McDavis et al., 1995; Miller, 1997; Richards, 1997; Taylor & Chatters, 1990). Positive self-image and positive racial identity as well as mental toughness are encouraged and are seen as a part of a child's developmental process (Forehand & Kotchick, 1996; McAdoo, 1991; McDade; Miller).

Along with strong cultural identity and pride, biculturalism is stressed and although several authors report that African Americans hold values that are similar to the mainstream culture, these values are not specified (Peters, 1981; Richards, 1997). There is consensus that while there are important differences between African American and Caucasian American values, there are probably more similarities and deciphering which values are "mainstream" is difficult because "mainstream culture" is a combination of elements from various cultures (Davis, 1993; McCollum, 1997). However, White (1984) explains that the dominant values of society are based on "individualism, competition, emotional isolation, power, dominance, and control" while Afro-American values are

based on “genuineness, mutual aid, and emotional closeness” (p. 97).

Egalitarian gender roles and age norms. Hershey’s (1978) quantitative research revealed that ethnicity made no difference in the way feminine and masculine sex roles were defined and that African Americans adhered to sex roles that were “traditional” rather than androgynous. However, this claim is uncommon and the African American family structure is most often characterized as having egalitarian and androgynous sex roles as well as flexible family roles (Alvy, 1987; Green, 1995; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; McDade, 1995; Priest, 1991; Taylor & Chatters, 1990).

African American men and women share androgynous sex roles that are seen in terms of degrees of difference rather than opposing characteristics (Daniel & Smitherman-Donaldson, 1990). This is attributed to liberal role descriptions that involve both men and women as active pursuers of sexual relationships as well as participants in domestic activities; both adults contribute financial support and have authority in the home (Lewis, 1975). Although it is debatable as to whether or not men participate equally in household chores, some claim that household chores are typically divided based on birth order, age, and ability rather than on gender (Barnes, 1983; Bulcroft et al., 1996; Lewis; McCollum, 1997; McFadden, 1983; Slaughter, 1988; White, 1984).

Flexible and interchangeable gender roles allow both male and female children to be highly stimulated and encouraged to demonstrate personal strength and courage as well as assertiveness (McFadden, 1983; Sue & Sue, 1999). When parents raise children together, both share in the cultivation of the children by engaging them in a high level of interaction that is warm, affectionate, and emotionally expressive (Allen, 1981; Atkinson,

1997; Baumrind, 1995; Lewis, 1975). Despite age expectations for a child's behavior, some expectations are gender based (Peters, 1981). More than fathers, mothers may expect a male child to become independent at an earlier age (Allen; Hampson et al., 1990). Adolescent boys may have more freedom than girls because sexual assault against girls as well as teenage pregnancy is a concern (Bulcroft et al., 1996).

It has been theorized that a female child may be prepared to be more self-reliant and resourceful than a male so that if necessary, she can one day support herself and her family (Collins, 1991; Lewis, 1975). This may be because the history of African American employment rates shows success in finding and maintaining jobs for females while males have struggled with underemployment (Johnson, 1970; Lewis; Staples, 1992; Taylor & Chatters, 1990; Tolnay, 1997). Social issues might prompt women to assume the financial responsibility for the family and the flexible family structure might facilitate this (Baumrind, 1995; McCollum, 1997; Sue & Sue, 1999; Thomas, 1990; White, 1984).

Hard work ethic. All family members contribute to the household including elders who rarely take a leisurely retirement (Alvy, 1987; Boyd-Franklin, 1989). When elders become dependent on others for help, nursing homes are a last resort. Instead, they usually remain active members of the household and are valued for the life experiences and knowledge they hold (McDavis et al., 1995; McFadden, 1983; Mosley-Howard & Evans, 2000; White, 1984). This hard work ethic modeled by elders, is imprinted on children whose parents' life goals for them include obtaining a good job, a good education, and helping the African American community (Alvy, 1988; Atkinson, 1997; Hurd et al., 1995; Willis, 1992). Education is valued as a means of job security and

financial success and is seen as a quest for the self as well as the group (Billingsley, 1992; Richards, 1997). However, some family members may forgo this endeavor to make a reciprocal sacrifice for another so that an education may be obtained; for example, an older child may drop out of school to help younger ones get an education (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Paniagua, 1994).

Discipline, love, and teaching. Although African American parenting is frequently discussed in the literature when the topic is physical discipline, some studies suggest that verbal orders and threats of delayed punishment, rather than physical discipline, are primarily used. Also mentioned, are behavioral modification tactics including verbal discussion, praise, modeling, restriction, and denial of privileges (Alvy, 1987; Atkinson, 1997). The discipline strategy utilized may depend on the type of misbehavior. For minor misbehavior, African American parents may use verbal orders and threats of delayed harm as a first choice and explanation and removal from the situation as an alternative choice. More severe disobedience may result in discipline such as hitting with an object (Alvy, Harrison, Rosen, & Fuentes, 1982).

In this section, other important factors that might affect discipline strategy, such as education and income levels, will be discussed but an historical perspective is also insightful. African American parenting has been described as authoritarian and as using "severe, punitive, and power assertive" discipline practices (Durrett, O'Bryant, & Pennebaker, 1975; McDade, 1995). However, an emic or inside cultural-specific perspective, presents physical discipline as originating during the slavery period and as becoming valued as a means of survival (Alvy, 1987). The goal of physical discipline is

not only to maintain social order, but also to instill obedience and respect. For many African Americans it is a child-oriented practice that serves to teach the child, rather than a parent-oriented approach that serves to release parental anger or to obtain unquestioning obedience (Alvy, 1987; Alvy et al., 1982). Others have confirmed that the goal of African American discipline is to protect and teach the child to internalize self-control (Halpern, 1990; Whaley, 2000).

The African American perspective on physical punishment may be that it is a necessary tactic to exhibit strict control over a child's behavior as well as to discourage troublesome curiosity so the child understands that some behaviors lead to even harsher societal sanctions (Baumrind, 1995; McLeod et al., 1994; Portes, Dunham, & Williams, 1986; Randolph, 1995; Stevenson, Davis, & Abdul-Kabir, 2001). African American parents endorse "whoopings" as an important childrearing practice that guides the child and considers the child's safety (Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Kelley, Power, & Wimbush, 1992; Whaley, 2000). A common saying in the African American community, "I'd rather my child get a beating from me than from the police" (Whaley; pg.8), demonstrates the belief that physical discipline protects children from harm by stressing that disobedience could lead to more severe forms of punishment (Comer, 1980; Garcia-Coil et al., 1995; Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Kelley et al., 1992; Thomas, 1993; Whaley). Because these parenting practices are highly valued for their protective and preventative nature, they may not necessarily be abusive and should be viewed from the context of the culture as well as environmental circumstances (Baumrind).

Academically or financially indigent contexts may promote strict, but functional

parenting practices because they psychologically prepare children for the harsh realities of life (McLeod et al., 1994). Some mothers who raise children in inner cities and low-income conditions have been characterized as protectively preparing their children to endure the city environment. They may withdraw emotional support from their young children as a means of discouraging emotional dependence while promoting self-reliance and independence at an early age. Sadness may be expressed as anger and aggression may be encouraged, especially in males (Block, 1981; Dodge, Petit, & Bates, 1994; Halpern, 1990; Johnson, 1970; McKenry & Fine, 1993). From the standpoint of someone who lives in an unsafe neighborhood in an unfair world, these parenting practices are seen as a functional survival strategy, that promotes survival and serves to protect the child emotionally.

The effects of SES complicate the study of ethnicity and discipline strategy (Dodge et al., 1994). In general, it is reported that both low- and middle-income African American families find physical punishment acceptable and it is one of the more common methods of discipline (Miller, 1997; Sue & Sue, 1999; Wasserman, Miller, Pinner, & Jaramillo, 1996; Whaley, 2000). However, there is grounded speculation that physical discipline is more affiliated with the culture of poverty (Halpern, 1990). Because studies on discipline and ethnicity are often confounded with the powerful variable of SES, it is hard to determine the true relationship (Alvy, 1987; Dodge et al., 1994). Alvy et al. (1982) compared African American and Caucasian discipline practices and found that regardless of ethnicity, lower SES parents used corporal punishment more than higher SES parents did and others have validated this finding (Alvy; Atkinson, 1997). Blueston and Tamis-

LeMonda (1999) found a sample of well-educated African American middle-income mothers to report using physical discipline fairly infrequently. Spencer (1990) reported that middle and lower SES African American parents were slightly more likely to use corporal punishment than higher SES African American parents, who were more likely to remove child privileges.

Besides SES, other factors that have been found to predict the use of physical punishment are the agreement with the effectiveness of spanking, being young, and perceiving the child as difficult (Kirkwood, 2000). Younger mothers, single mothers, or less educated mothers have been found to be more likely to expect unquestioning obedience and to report the use of physical discipline while older mothers, married mothers, or more educated mothers report using strategies such as reasoning, persuasion, modeling, and material or social consequences (Kelley, Sanchez-Hucles, & Walker, 1993).

Not only is there debate over whether or not African American caregivers use physical discipline as a primary technique or if they use it more than other ethnic groups, there is also disagreement about the effects physical discipline has on children. In the African American cultural context, physical discipline alone may not be the cause of disruptive behavior. Studies of European American families have shown a positive correlation between physical discipline and disruptive disorders in children, but some studies of African American families provide contradicting results (Wasserman et al., 1996; Whaley, 2000). McLeod et al. (1994) obtained empirical data to show that physical discipline may not negatively affect African American children because parents use this

type of punishment as a result of antisocial behavior. McLeod et al. state that African American children do not respond to spanking by exhibiting aggressive behavior; rather, they are likely to stop the behavior to avoid being spanked. The authors compared this reaction to Caucasian children and found that Caucasian children, who are spanked for misbehaving, are more likely to display more antisocial behaviors as a reaction.

However, these authors, as well as others recognize there is still a possibility of physical punishment having reciprocal effects on child misbehavior and parental punishment with African Americans (Vuchinich et al., 1992; Wahler, 1990).

Overall, the idea that physical discipline is associated with negative effects in children is debatable and research findings regarding the link between physical discipline and disruptive disorders in African American families are inconclusive; more research is clearly needed (Johnson, 2000; Kandel, 1992). It is also important to consider the complex interactions involved in parenting and the use of discipline and there is probably no one single best parenting prescription that will work for all families, regardless of attitudes, beliefs, or culture (Abell, Clawson, Washington, Bost, & Vaughn, 1996).

Asian American Values

Harmony with the environment and social interdependence are valued in Asian culture (Cheng, 1997; McDade, 1995; Sue & Sue, 1995). Often, this comes by way of following cultural norms that promote collective family structure, conformity, shame, and emotional- and self-control (Futa, Hsu, & Hansen, 2001; Hammer & Turner, 1996).

Other essential themes include fatalism, empathy, belongingness, and reciprocity as well

as filial piety, assumption of middle position, and social awareness (Ho, 1992; Kobayashi, 1989). These values are discussed in more detail below.

General values.

Harmony, interdependence, and family structure. Many Asians feel at one with, rather than separate from, the environment and they strive to maintain balance and coexistence with nature (Sue & Sue, 1999). Harmony and balance is reflected in Asian art, literature, philosophy, and medicine and is supported in the vertical social structure where each individual has high commitment to fulfill duties that create harmonious social relationships. Respect for status is evident in the social interaction of strangers –Asian Americans often seek out the person's status first and then act accordingly and eye contact is often avoided between people of unequal social status. Filial piety, which is an unquestioning respect and reverence for elders demonstrates how hierarchy determines social roles and status within the family. This value prohibits negative conflict with parents or elders and encourages the child to fulfill a series of obligations to them that entails providing comfort, affection, aid, and bringing glory through attaining educational and occupational success (Chan, 1992; Futa et al., 2001; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Kitano & Maki, 1996; Lin & Liu, 1999; Lum, 1992; McDade, 1995; Rothbaum et al., 2000; Sue & Sue, 1995).

Social harmony is analogous to social competence which entails politeness, obedience, and cooperation; this is expressed through emotional control and by expressing feelings indirectly (Chan, 1992; Lin & Liu, 1999). Self-criticism and inconspicuousness are also intrinsic to social competence because it demonstrates maturity and self-control

(Rothbaum et al., 2000). Parents socialize children in ways that encourage reciprocity, group collectivism, and empathy. They should be interdependent, but with increased acculturation, parents may tolerate more independent exhibits of behavior—this may be due to the strong need for the individual to achieve and succeed in society at large because it reflects back upon the family (Lin & Fu, 1990).

The definition of independence may vary according to culture and should be operationalized when researchers study this construct. Asian mothers have defined independence in young children as building relationships that are based on mutual trust, sympathy, and consideration. These mothers described the importance of following directions and obeying rules in first and second graders and these behaviors may be valued over making friends and independent decisions (Okagaki & Sternberg, 1993).

Collectivity and shame. Many Asian Americans define their position in life in relation to their family as a group (Chung, 1992; Futa et al., 2001). In fact, in the Japanese language, the words for brother or sister do not exist without describing the position the person holds in the family (Yamamoto & Kubota, 1983). Belonging to the group is an integral part of the collective culture and decisions are rarely made without first consulting the family (Cheng, 1997; Kobayashi, 1989). The group comes first and an individual member's needs may go unnoticed for the sake of the family's needs (Chung; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Kitano & Maki, 1996; Lum, 1992; McDade, 1995; Yee, 1990).

The perception of the family is that it extends beyond the present and reaches back into past lineages as well as into future generations (Futa et al., 2001). The behavior of any one family member reflects on all past and future members and thus, the value of

shame becomes a social concept (Hsu, 1995; Kitano & Maki, 1996). Shame is a tactic used to reinforce conformist behavior that is dictated by obligations and is elicited by group pressures (Cheng, 1997; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1995). There is an appropriate behavior for all occasions and the consequences of shame and loss of face serve as motivators to conform (Chung, 1992; Hammer & Turner). Anything that could negatively reflect upon the family is kept secret and tradition says that in some cases, suicide is an acceptable way of making amends for actions that bring severe disgrace (Lum, 1992). To maintain social harmony, Asian Americans may "save face" by not freely disclosing matters (e.g., divorce, failing school, domestic violence) that could disgrace the entire family's reputation and this may result in underutilization of professional services (Futa et al.). Another reason for underutilization may be due to fatalism, the belief in accepting one's fate (Chan, 1992; Cheng; Futa et al.; Kitano & Maki, 1996).

Conformity, control and social awareness. The Asian American interpersonal style is socially sensitive; it encourages self-control and empathy, which is demonstrated through emotional restraint, humbleness, modesty, and patience. Success should bring pride to the family as an act of love and is not a personal achievement (Cheng, 1997). Expression of strong feelings, criticism, or weaknesses are discouraged because they impose upon another's time, energy or resources (Cheng; Futa et al., 2001; Kitano & Maki, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1995). Aggression is suppressed and conflict is avoided because such disharmony may bring about sickness or social disarray (Chung, 1992). Because of the collective nature of social interaction, Asians often do not find it necessary to verbalize intentions

because “everyone in the relationship knows it” and nonverbal cues are sufficient (Chung; Hammer & Turner, 1996). Although some claim that outward displays of affection are more traditional, others state that affection is displayed through hugs or nonverbal acts such as making a sacrifice or meeting physical and financial needs that will benefit the entire family (Cheng; Ishii-Kuntz, 1997; Lin & Liu, 1999; Suzuki, 1980).

These characteristics have implications for professionals to consider so that they do not misinterpret values such as interdependence and contemplation as unassertiveness or a lack of confidence or conceptual ability. Examples of value conflicts that lead to misinterpretation of behavior include shyness; social inhibition may reflect social maturity and understanding in Chinese culture while it may be seen as social immaturity or incompetence in Western culture (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997). Also, Kobayashi (1989) notes that from the Western point of view, interdependence might be seen as dependence, which connotes pathological enmeshment.

Specific family values.

Children are seen as the center of the family and are constantly being played with, fed on demand, or soothed. Co-sleeping, toilet training, and weaning may be prolonged when compared to European American children (Chan, 1992; Yamamoto & Kubota, 1983). These practices assist the child in developing close-knit ties to the family and in preparing for educational achievement, which is very important (Sue & Sue, 1995; Suzuki, 1980; Yamamoto & Kubota). Traditionally, many family members have been actively involved in childrearing in an interdependent environment and close ties to the family foster dependence, which is highly valued. Thus, children are likely to respond to mild social

deprivation as a discipline technique. When children become school-aged, stricter discipline and household responsibilities are implemented (Chan; Suzuki).

Traditionally, the husband-wife relationship is centered on their children and a mother may be especially close to her son (Hsu, 1995). The traditional father is the head of the household. He is distant and formal with his children and spends little time with them until they are older. In contemporary Asian families, the husband-wife relationship is stronger and more egalitarian and the father is less formal and distant with his children (Hsu; Ishii-Kuntz, 1997). However, even in a modern Asian American family, there are still claims that families are patriarchal and that parent-child communication is formal and is based on a hierarchy where gender, age, and family position have more influence on roles (Chan, 1992; Sue & Sue, 1995; Yee, 1990).

Children give meaning to a parent's life. The relationship between mother and child is especially reciprocal and the mother views her baby as an extension of herself and the child is indulged with devotion (Chan, 1992; Kobayashi, 1989). The mother's sense of esteem comes from being needed and in turn, children often develop a sense of guilt and lifelong obligation to their mothers (Kobayashi, 1989; Lin & Liu, 1999). The mother is primarily in charge of childrearing responsibilities and minor discipline while the father is more involved with major discipline (Chan). Both parents supervise children's activities and screen playmates as well as potential spouses for older children (Hammer & Turner, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1995; Suzuki, 1980). It has been found that Asian American fathers may be more controlling of child behavior than Caucasian American fathers (Lin & Fu, 1990).

Praise, discipline, and fatalism. "Middle-position virtue" is a term used to describe conformity as a way of social harmony where the individual does not stand out from others (Futa et al., 2001; Kitano & Maki, 1996). Praising another or speaking of personal accomplishments as well as asking too many questions can single a person out (Hammer & Turner, 1996). Praise that comes from within the family may seem "stranger-like" and unnatural (Hsu, 1995). Overt praise or reward is not habitually delivered to children who do what is already expected because there is a fear they will stop trying to improve or will become less humble or lazy. The belief is that in order to get praise, a substantial accomplishment should be made and even then, verbal recognition may come with themes of doing better next time. Praise reflects upon the family rather than the individual and is expressed in family pride when the mother cooks a special meal or the father gives the child a special responsibility (Chan, 1992).

It is taught that one is to accept his/her role, know it and perform it well (Hammer & Turner, 1996). Therefore, in regards to problematic behavior, traditional Asian families believe that interference with a child's path is taboo because it is predetermined destiny (Lieh-Mak et al., 1984). However, if a person wants to change the direction of his/her own life, they have the power within them to do so (Lin & Fu, 1990). Parents will often ignore undesirable behavior and if it does not cease, they may use mild forms of shame and guilt (e.g., teasing or ridicule) or removal for minor behavioral offenses or corporal punishment for major offenses (Chan, 1992; Lieh-Mak et al.; Suzuki, 1980).

Kelley and Tseng (1992) report that immigration status might affect discipline strategies, but that with increased levels of acculturation, these behaviors might change;

they found Chinese immigrant mothers to report using physical punishment and verbal scolding more often than Caucasian American mothers. Although these forms of discipline are common, many parents may still accept behavior modification. In a telephone survey given to a group of ethnically diverse parents, the majority of Asian parents (85.7%) agreed that taking away privileges was an acceptable method of discipline; however, 47% of Asian American parents agreed that physical punishment was also acceptable. It is important to note that the majority of the sample (69%) had an average income above \$35,000 and therefore, results may not be representative of all families (McDade, 1995).

Traditional vs. medical or psychological treatment. Another tradition is that alternative healing methods, such as indigenous healers, herbal remedies, and religious practices, are preferred over medical treatment or psychological services (LaFromboise et al., 1990; Lieh-Mak et al., 1984). The results of a questionnaire given to a culturally diverse sample who were over the age of 65 and were at high risk for hospital admission revealed that the Asian participants were 23 times less likely to visit doctors than Caucasian participants (Boult & Boult, 1995). Unfortunately, no other comparisons were made to determine if the Asian sample made less doctor visits than the other ethnic groups in the sample. Before seeking medical assistance, families may choose self-help means to solve problems and when available, families cope with problems by consulting extended family or community members (Kitano & Maki, 1996; Suzuki, 1980). When traditional methods are not chosen, medical doctors are more acceptable than psychological services. This may be because of the perception that psychological

troubles are a sign of weakness that brings public shame and because stigma is attached to psychological ailments (Lieh-Mak et al.). Thus, it may be more acceptable to express somatic symptoms (Tanaka-Matsumi & Higginbotham, 1996).

Native American Values

Several researchers have noted the extreme differences in values between Native Americans and Caucasians (Fantini & Cardenas, 1980; LaFromboise et al., 1990; Locke & Parker, 1995; Sage, 1996; Wrenn, 1985 as cited in Locke & Parker, 1995). In fact, Richardson (1981) has claimed that no two cultures have values that differ more than these two groups. Despite some dissent that the differences are not that drastic and are rather stereotypes that serve a purpose of creating a "contrast culture" (Sodowsky & Johnson, 1993), there is general agreement that Native American and Caucasian cultures vary significantly from one another (Flores, 1986; Garrett & Garrett, 1994). Essential to the appraisal that there are differences, is that Native Americans are not a homogeneous group and that there are wide variations, not only between, but within tribes (Tyler & Suan, 1990). Because not all tribes are alike and there are probably as many variations in Native American languages, cultural values, and practices as there are tribes, some have reasoned that tribal identities are more informative than cultural identities (Fleming, 1992; Herring & Meggert, 1994; McDonald, Morton, & Stewart, 1993; Tefft, 1971).

The following section highlights some general Native American values and then some that are more specific to childrearing and parenting. However, because these values are discussed in very generalized terms and fine distinctions between tribes are not

highlighted, it is critical not to allow these generalizations to blind the variations within and between tribes (Thomason, 1991). It is recommended that the reader interpret the following sections loosely and to be cautious when making generalizations (Forehand & Kotchick, 1996).

General values.

Family structure, extended family orientation, and elders. Family structure varies from tribe to tribe and may vary depending on city vs. reservation dwelling—city dwellers may tend to be more nucleated while reservation families may have more extended family involvement (Carson, Dail, Greeley, & Kenote, 1990; Joe & Malach, 1992; Yee, 1990). Some tribes have a matrilineal orientation that expresses value of the female and may involve her role as head of the family; in these tribes, a man might leave his own family to adjoin with the family of his spouse-to-be (Burgess, 1980; Fleming, 1992; Hildebrand et al., 1996; McAdoo, 1993; Phillips & Lobar, 1990). Women may be the “keepers of the culture” as they share healing rituals and teach children respect for the land and the rituals involved when an animal must be killed; they may also preserve culture by becoming actively involved in tribal government and other leadership roles (Green, 1992).

Beyond the tribe is the clan, and the membership is inherited through the maternal line. Clan members are also considered relatives and although relocation from reservations and native homeland have brought changes in family structure, family systems extend across generations and into reservations in different regions (Burgess, 1980; Herring, 1990a; Hildebrand et al., 1996; Red Horse, 1980b). In several Native American languages, there is not a separate word for “mother” or “aunt”, etc. (Bryde,

1971; Horejsi, Craig, & Pablo, 1992; McDonald et al., 1993). Because the entire tribe is related to as family, a child can have several “grandmothers”, “grandfathers”, “mothers”, “fathers”, “aunts”, “uncles”, and “cousins” (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). People may be addressed by their titles rather than their name and these titles carry with them responsibility (Bryde). Relationships between brothers and sisters have a special place of honor and may override the relationship between husband and wife (Phillips & Lobar, 1990). In some tribes, the mother’s sister’s children are as important as her own and cousins may be treated as siblings (Attneave, 1985; Phillips & Lobar).

Extended family, the basic unit for Native Americans, provides a strong sense of support and security; beyond this close inside circle, people are seen as outsiders who are not allowed to enter easily (Berlin, 1987; Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Keltner, 1993; Red Horse, 1983; Stauss, 1995; Sue & Sue, 1999). Children learn flexibility and develop close ties with extended members of the family and it is not uncommon or dysfunctional for a child to live with a variety of different relatives (Green, 1995; Sue & Sue). It is when a child is removed from his/her home and placed in foster care outside his/her cultural environment, that it can be detrimental because there is no one to teach values or to reaffirm the child’s belief system (Blanchard, 1983). Family members, and especially elders, are often sought for advice and counsel (Attneave, 1985; Burgess, 1980; Fantini & Cardenas, 1980; Joe & Malach, 1992; Keltner, 1993; Primeaux, 1977; Stauss). Elder members hold a special place in the tribe because they are storytellers of tribal history and transmit cultural values (Burgess; Hammer & Turner; Hildebrand et al., 1996; Horejsi et al., 1992; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project,

1991).

Elders also serve a strong role in a child's life. Instead of retiring, grandparents remain actively involved in taking care of the grandchildren—offering spiritual guidance and often serving the role of material and emotional supporter (Hammer & Turner, 1996; Herring, 1997b; Hildebrand et al., 1996; Joe & Malach, 1992). Sometimes a grandparent may be asked to come and live with a young couple to teach them tribal language and culture because they represent family strength and are a valuable connection to the past and its rich history and lessons (Fantini & Cardenas, 1980; Richardson, 1981; Sage, 1996; Sodowsky & Johnson, 1993). Although some elders have felt they must put the “old ways” aside in order to survive in modern day society, others continue to share stories that are often connected to the land and are rich in virtues that are essential to happiness (Green, 1992).

In the Native American culture, age is considered a “badge of honor” and elders are respected for their great knowledge and life experience (Garcia-Coll et al., 1995; Herring, 1990a; Sodowsky & Johnson, 1993). Elders have lived long and the lines in their faces are said to represent the many paths they have walked; each path is a lesson learned (Forehand & Kotchick, 1996; Garcia-Coll et al.; Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Herring, 1990a; Herring, 1997a; Herring, 1997b; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991; Tyler & Suan, 1990). When an elder transitions to the afterlife, it is a great loss to all because of the unifying power and great knowledge they bring to the family (Red Horse, 1980a). In the end, elders are respected for having many descendants and for their legacy rather than for the material gain they achieved; it is the poor person who has no relatives (Phillips &

Lobar, 1990; Primeaux, 1977). Despite tradition, there are reports of modern day breakdown of larger extended family where elders are not as well cared for by the family and youth value materialism rather than the old ways of internal focus on development and being respectful (Bryde, 1971; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project).

Success, wealth, and sharing. Success is measured by giving to others and by how one benefits the tribe rather than by personal gain (Garcia-Coll et al., 1995; Garrett & Garrett, 1994; McDade, 1995; Paniagua, 1994). A wealthy person is one who is generous and sharing earns honor and respect from others (Fantini & Cardenas, 1980; Sage, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1999). What belongs to the individual belongs to the group and it is not unheard of for someone to receive the object they compliment (Attneave, 1982; Herring, 1997a; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). Leaders are not self-elected; rather, they are appointed by others who are naturally drawn to them (Marshall, 1995). Living simplistically is valued over sophistication and it is seen as egotistic to accumulate material possessions or to seek powerful status (Anderson & Ellis, 1995; Berlin, 1987; Richardson, 1981; Sadowsky & Johnson, 1993).

Traditionally, money was not seen as something to save or store up. Rather, it was a tool to assist in the participation of more important things, such as attending a ceremony or tribal celebration. With this frame of reference, a person may work for enough money to pay for the expenses involved in getting self and family members to and from a ceremonial event (Sue & Sue, 1999). Wealth equates to one's capacity to remain humble and generous and to turn fortune back to the group. While accumulated money is not always a marker of success, education may be (Burgess, 1980; Fleming, 1992). However,

what one does with that education is more important than obtaining it; education should be used to benefit the group (Fleming).

In essence, success and beauty are not always outwardly expressed; inner power and development are associated with manifesting virtues and happiness and is deemed more important (Hildebrand et al., 1996; Richardson, 1981; Sadowsky & Johnson, 1993).

“Being” is emphasized over the active, hard-working way of “doing” or “showing” (Herring, 1997a; Sadowsky & Johnson). Having cultural and spiritual resources is an integral part of success, as is the ability to conform to tribal structure and adhere to traditional skills and knowledge (Blanchard, 1983; Fleming, 1992). How well one is able to balance traditional and western ways, as well as to maintain harmony with the environment is key (Hornett, 1990; Sage, 1996).

Harmony with nature, animism, and holistic health. One’s personal intuitive relationship with the cosmos, family teachings, and tribal knowledge may be more valued than scientific or empirical data (Dyc, 1993; Sadowsky & Johnson, 1993; Stauss, 1995). Nature does not need to be explained—it is accepted for what it is and there is an unconditional respect for the mystery inherent in the cycles of nature (Joe & Malach, 1992; Richardson, 1981; Sadowsky & Johnson; Stauss; Suzuki & Knudtson, 1992). The earth is not seen as something that is owned or exploited because it is only on loan and humans are expected to honor and coexist with the earth rather than to try to master and control it (Bryde, 1971; Fantini & Cardenas, 1980; Forehand & Kotchick, 1996; Herring, 1990a; Joe & Malach; Keltner, 1993; Sadowsky & Johnson; Suzuki & Knudtson; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). Native American people may be more

oriented towards preserving land and nature rather than securing a job and house (Richardson; Sodowsky & Johnson).

Harmonious relationships with other persons is also emphasized (Anderson & Ellis, 1995). Daily decisions are made based on obligation to those who lived as far back as seven generations as well as to those who will live seven generations from now (Kawamoto & Cheshire, 1997; Sage, 1996). Caring for the earth is part of this obligation so that future generations have a home. It is believed that all things have a spirit and that all elements in the environment are interconnected (body, mind, spirit, past, present, future); this belief, called *animism*, links the earth and all of its inhabitants and suggests that all things are entitled respect as well as a place in the cycle of nature (Attneave, 1982; Blanchard, 1983; DuBray, 1985; Fleming, 1992; Garcia-Coll et al., 1995; Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Locust, 1985; McDonald et al., 1993; Sage).

A traditional perspective emphasizes that harmony with nature is equivalent to good health and there is no separation between physical and mental health (Thomason, 1991). Often, it is believed that illness or bad luck result from an imbalance between physical, mental, and spiritual elements (Choney, Berryhill-Paapke, & Robbins, 1995; Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Herring, 1997a; Herring, 1997b; Joe & Malach, 1992; Keltner, 1993; LaFromboise & Jackson, 1996; Locust, 1985; McDonald et al., 1993; Phillips & Lobar, 1990; Thompson, Walker, & Silk-Walker, 1993; Trimble, Manson, Dinges, & Medicine, 1984). This holistic perspective stresses the interrelatedness of all aspects of existence and strives for harmony and balance while problems must be seen in the context of the culture rather than the individual (Trimble & LaFromboise, 1985). When someone

becomes ill, the spirit is a major participant in the treatment--a medicine man or woman may be consulted to discover why the spirit has become weakened (Herring, 1997b; LaFromboise & Jackson; McDonald et al.).

Most Native Americans choose to seek assistance from trained healers, such as medicine men who are able to enter spiritual realms and act as conduits for healing energy (Choney et al., 1995; LaFromboise, 1988; Trimble & LaFromboise, 1985). These healers understand that healing is a social issue that focuses on the client's role in the community and that person's affect on the system. The healer seeks to treat a problem in the community rather than the individual and often, an entire family or community becomes involved in treatment (LaFromboise & Jackson, 1996; McCubbin, McCubbin, Thompson, & Thompson, 1998; Thomason, 1991). Although a Native American may rely on healers before doctors, oftentimes, both Western and Traditional healing practices are utilized together (Keltner, 1993; Thompson et al., 1993).

Social behavior: collective, cooperative, noncompetitive. Children are taught a collateral orientation--the tribe is seen as an extension of the self and the individual is insignificant without the tribe (Anderson & Ellis, 1995; Joe & Malach, 1992; Thomason, 1991). This socialization pattern involves making decisions based on how they will benefit the group (DuBray, 1985; Fleming, 1992; Herring, 1997a; Herring, 1997b; Red Horse, 1982). It may take a long time for the group to reach consensus, and when agreement is not reached, each person is allowed opportunity to voice opinion or feeling and then the event may be left to naturally unfold (Attneave, 1982; Suina & Smolkin, 1994; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). Cooperation between tribal and

family members is as important as individual needs or competition so if someone has a problem, the entire group should be invited to be a part of the solution (Hammer & Turner, 1996; Herring, 1997b; Joe & Malach; LaFromboise et al., 1990; Stauss, 1995; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project).

A high value is placed upon harmonious behavior that is cooperative, discrete and unassertive, polite, and concord oriented (Anderson & Ellis, 1995; Richardson, 1981; Sage, 1996; Sadowsky & Johnson, 1993). Humility is at the heart of all other virtues as it teaches one to express generosity without heed for recognition (Forehand & Kotchick, 1996; Garcia-Coll et al., 1995; Herring, 1990a). Competition is lighthearted and fun and winning reflects back upon the group; a person may compete with himself but only when another is not harmed (Attneave, 1982; Bigfoot, 1989; Fantini & Cardenas, 1980; Forehand & Kotchick; Kawamoto & Cheshire, 1997). Being mild-mannered, patient, and silent is considered virtuous, but conflictive and argumentative behavior, as well as other types of behavior that sets the individual apart from the group is not (Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Joe & Malach, 1992).

Although freedom of expression and uniqueness is honored, standing out from others in the group is not admired (Weider & Pratt, 1990). One may downplay a positive situation to avoid standing out from others; even at a cocktail party, one's refusal of an alcoholic beverage may be awkward because it sets the person apart from others (Anderson & Ellis, 1995; Weider & Pratt). It would be especially inappropriate for a Native American student who has just witnessed a peer struggle to answer a question, to take the opportunity to make a correct response; he/she probably would rather not answer

that question in order to maintain group harmony (Anderson & Ellis; Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Little Soldier, 1992; Stauss, 1995; Weider & Pratt).

Bragging also draws attention away from the group and onto the individual (Berlin, 1987; Blanchard, 1983; Herring, 1997a). Boasting is seen as a self-absorbed act that leads to group disharmony (Herring, 1997b). However, in some instances, it becomes necessary for one to speak about one's own accomplishments, but this is mainly done in the context of the group as a gift that builds group esteem and pride (Marshall, 1995). Praise is given only when earned and is welcomed when it comes from someone else while in the presence of the group (Bryde, 1971; Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Herring, 1997a; Luftig, 1983). The receiver of the compliment is singled out and this can be uncomfortable (Joe & Malach, 1992). When a Native American is the object of praise, he/she may drop his/her head and eyes as a sign of respect (Garrett & Garrett). From a "western perspective," the humble, respectful, and group oriented Native American may be negatively judged as non-assertive, dependent, or as one with low self esteem (Joe & Malach). Some teachers have even mistakenly thought a child to be slow processing, or worse yet, intellectually deficient (Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; Plank, 1994).

Some claim that Native American students cooperatively and holistically learn about the world through observation and through multi-visual, auditory, and tactile experience (Plank, 1994; Rhodes, 1988). Native American students are described as intuitive, creative, and spontaneous and as excelling in expressive activities (Little Soldier, 1992). It has long been posited that Native American students prefer different learning and

communication styles than their western peers (Little Soldier; Rhodes). This style is not linear and compartmentalized and can thus, be detrimental to success in the typical classroom that emphasizes summarizing main points and objectives (Rhodes). When telling a story, Native Americans see the whole picture and each part is connected to the whole; relationships between people are as essential as relationships among ideas and main points (Rhodes). Not only does learning style affect classroom performance, but so does interpersonal style. A common classroom situation that encourages verbally giving the "right" answer in an individualized competitive or speeded manner may be handled quite differently depending on the participants' cultural teachings (Anderson & Ellis, 1995; Little Soldier).

Native Americans may prefer to practice privately before performing in front of a group (Hornett, 1990; Rhodes, 1988; Suina & Smolkin, 1994). Impulsiveness is discouraged and taking time to conceptualize all aspects of a position is encouraged before taking action. Some believe that the one talking is usually the one who knows the least and one might even come to decide they would rather suppress a concluding or personal opinion, in order to avoid an isolating view (Dyc, 1993; Green, 1995; Rhodes; Weider & Pratt, 1990). Native American children are taught not to interrupt and to be patient and allow sufficient time for completion of thoughts (Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Hildebrand et al., 1996; Hornett, 1990). This response time may seem long to others who are not accustomed to this manner of processing and in the ethnically mixed classroom, this extra three or five seconds often leads to interruption by other non-native students or teachers (Dyc; Stauss, 1995; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991).

Dyc (1993) compared European American and Navajo discussion styles and found that European American students presented research based information in a fast-paced manner with significant effort to persuade the audience of the speakers' position or to control the outcome of the debate. In contrast, the Navajo style of presentation was slower paced, allowing plenty of time for speaker-audience discourse and included many revelations of personal experience. The Navajo student presented information without dominating the conversation or expressing personal opinion. This example underlines the basic Native American value that cooperation is valued over competition and the desire to excel beyond another or to interfere with another's learning path is shameful (Berlin, 1987; Blanchard, 1983; Garcia-Coll et al., 1995; Herring, 1990a; Herring, 1997b; Plank, 1994; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991; Tyler & Suan, 1990).

Nonverbal communication styles. Communication styles are also linked to values. The way something is said (or not said) depends on the relationship between listener and speaker (Blanchard, 1983; Joe & Malach, 1992). Talking may be more slow and reserved at first and then may become more animated as the speaker and listener become better acquainted (Joe & Malach). Although some propose that small talk helps establishes comfort levels, others describe words as powerful tools that are not to be wasted; they are chosen carefully and are used conservatively when small talk or anger is at issue (Fleming, 1992; Joe & Malach; Sage, 1996). Eye contact is considered a highly personal event and Native American people express respect by refraining from direct eye contact (Primeaux, 1977).

When listener and speaker do not share the same cultural references for

communication, breakdowns may occur. It is common for Native American people to supplement speech with nonverbal gestures that often speak louder than words (Herring, 1990b; Hornett, 1990; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). Body cues, such as a light pressing of hands to communicate friendship vs. a firm handshake, that can be seen as rude or can communicate aggression, are more important than verbal communication (Stauss, 1995; Thompson et al., 1993). Silent observation and following nonverbal examples are valued and taught early in life (Sage, 1996). Direct questioning and verbal analysis is discouraged, yet children are acknowledged for descriptive statements (Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; Fleming, 1992; Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Joe & Malach, 1992). Children learn through watching their environment and then engaging in hands on, independent practice; they may learn better from watching animals than other human beings (McAdoo, 1993; Richardson, 1981; Sadowsky & Johnson, 1993; Suina & Smolkin, 1994; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project).

Traditionalists place a high value on emotional restraint and silent suffering is a prided ability while loud talk is not well-received (Hammer & Turner, 1996; LaFromboise & Jackson, 1996; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). The virtue of silence is appropriate in several situations and may have different meaning according to the situation (Braithwaite, 1990). Silence communicates respect, acceptance, and modesty and being with others in long periods of silence is not perceived as uncomfortable (Basso, 1990; Fantini & Cardenas, 1980; Keltner, 1993; Plank, 1994; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project; Weider & Pratt, 1990). Silence and emotional restraint are natural responses to unfamiliar circumstances and also demonstrate respect (Herring, 1997a;

Hildebrand et al., 1996; LaFromboise et al., 1990; Sage, 1996; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project).

The traditional Native American expresses respect for a boss or teacher with little correction, interruption, or eye contact. For example, if someone in authority status were to make a mistake, such as mispronouncing a name, the Native American may not correct that person out of respect; calling attention to the person's error may cause embarrassment and that would be rude so the Native American may withdraw or remain silent instead (Plank, 1994; Red Horse, 1983). This behavior may be misinterpreted as low self esteem or unassertiveness and younger children may present to outsiders as shy and fearful of strangers while older children may present as uncommunicative, stoic, and without complaints (Hammer & Turner, 1996; Phillips & Lobar, 1990).

Not only does a time of silence after someone has spoken show respect—it shows the listener's reflection of what has been said—respect is also demonstrated with the use of little eye contact or by saying “thank you” or “please” (Joe & Malach, 1992; Weider & Pratt, 1990). However, lack of eye contact is another behavior that has been misinterpreted by teachers as disrespect or disinterest. From the Native American perspective, not looking at a person of respected authority, and instead looking down and remaining silent, is demonstration of respect (Herring, 1997a; Stauss, 1995; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). This type of respect extends to peers as well. Staring can be interpreted as a power or control tactic or it may simply cause intimidation and discomfort (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project). When a student is giving a lecture, the Navajo students may not look at the speaker in order to ease the speaker's

discomfort (Dyc, 1993). Because nonverbal communication is often overlooked, it has been suggested that teachers, and their students, would benefit from acknowledging nonverbal communication as a mode of response (see Herring & Meggert, 1994 for more teaching suggestions).

Humor. The healing affects of laughter, humor, and exaggeration are used to cope or lighten a desperate or serious situation (Dyc, 1993; Herring, 1997b; Keltner, 1993; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). Humor is used to redirect attention back to the group and off of the individual (Herring, 1997b). Jokes may be made with a straight face and many outsiders may miss the joke and practical joking or the use of exaggeration are common humor tactics (Herring, 1997b; Herring & Meggert, 1994). Humor is also used in ceremonies when clowns reflect our foolishness and parents teach their children to laugh at themselves (Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Herring & Meggert).

Time orientation. Many Native American languages do not have a word for *time* or to indicate future tense (Little Soldier, 1992). Time is viewed as cyclical and continual, rather than linear and limited. One participates with time in a carefree, flexible manner and because time is not a structured entity that dictates events, things are done when the need arises (Attneave, 1982; Dufrene, 1990; Little Soldier, 1992; McCubbin et al., 1998; McDonald et al., 1993; Richardson, 1981; Sadowsky & Johnson, 1993). When everyone has arrived and are ready, things begin and they end when everyone is finished; this has been coined "Indian time" (Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Herring, 1997b; Thomason, 1991). It is organized by personal needs such as sleep, eating, work, relaxation, social interaction, and alone time (Attneave; Fleming, 1992; Garcia-Coll et al., 1995; Herring,

1990a) as well as by group needs. Keeping an appointment is less important than helping a family member and thus, if the moment requires group cooperation over individual need, the individual will likely miss the appointment or arrive late (Herring, 1997b; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991).

Youth are socialized to live in the present; future goals and punctuality are not always stressed (Anderson & Ellis, 1995; DuBray, 1985; Herring, 1997a; Herring, 1997b; Joe & Malach, 1992; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991; Tyler & Suan, 1990). A person who plans ahead with long-term goals, such as saving for a college education, may be seen as egotistic, selfish, and as bettering oneself at the expense of the group because generosity and sharing are more important (Anderson & Ellis; Berlin, 1987; Richardson, 1981; Sadowsky & Johnson, 1993; Stauss, 1995; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project). Another aspect of a present orientation is that quality is more important than punctuality; it is more important to do a job well, regardless of how much time it takes, than to do it quickly for the sake of completing it (Anderson & Ellis).

Spirituality, religion, and oral tradition. Storytelling, songs and lullabies, and other artistic mediums communicate values with their themes of hope, generosity, and appreciation of beauty; they also preserve historical information and tradition and may be used for self-disclosure (Blanchard, 1983; Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; Fantini & Cardenas, 1980; Fleming, 1992; Garrett & Garrett, 1994; McDonald et al., 1993). The lessons in stories are communicated through metaphors that are rich with detail and visual descriptions. This type of auditory processing, abstract conceptualization, imagery, and language skills are at the heart of storytelling and it is a valued ability (Garrett & Garrett;

More, 1987). Religion and culture are intimately connected and daily life may be imbedded with religious or spiritual expression (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990).

Powwows are a celebration of the culture and the values learned through storytelling. These events recognize spirituality and allow opportunities to renew the old ways and to engage in social time for those who live far apart. The young learn from the elders and carry on spiritual dancing, singing, and drumming traditions as well as other customs (Dufrene, 1990). Each song and dance has a special religious meaning or story that reminds participants of their customs and heritage (Dufrene; Richardson, 1981; Snyder, 1990; Sadowsky & Johnson, 1993). Everything about the powwow, from the drum to the feather on a costume, represents something sacred or symbolizes something very special to Native American people (Dufrene). Native artwork is on display as another expression of spiritual unity and there is a high value placed on honoring the deceased (Dufrene; Dufrene & Coleman, 1994). Many spiritual ceremonies honor and recognize spirits and ancestors that lived in the past; it is normal for a ceremonial participant to experience visual or auditory extrasensory experiences (Tyler & Suan, 1990).

Noninterference. There is a basic belief in the practice of noninterference and allowing the natural progression of life (Fleming, 1992; Garcia-Coll et al., 1995). Accepting problems and the world as it is--rather than taking an active effort to change or fix the problem is a standard view (Hornett, 1990; Richardson, 1981). Because there are many more elements involved in a situation than meet the eye (e.g., elements involving the wisdom of higher powers), it is seen as disrespectful and arrogant to impose personal

will or opinion on another being (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). This value may even affect a parent's willingness to make decisions for or to share personal information about his/her child or fellow Native American (Knierp-Hardy & Burkhardt, 1977; Phillips & Lobar, 1990; Weider & Pratt, 1990). The value placed on individual freedom, dignity, and autonomy may also explain non-interfering parenting approaches and will be discussed in more depth as it relates to childrearing and discipline.

Specific family values.

As discussed earlier, familism is common within Native American culture and the self is less important than the family or tribe (Paniagua, 1994). This concept permeates family structure and there tends to be mutual respect among family members rather than a hierarchical model of relation (Paniagua). Children are highly valued and are often central to the tribe; they are considered to be "gifts of life" and are important components to family structure (Bigfoot, 1989; Blanchard, 1983; Hildebrand et al., 1996).

Childrearing and the spiritual significance of milestones. Native American children are usually parented in a non-gender specific way that emphasizes the balance between masculinity and femininity in each child; in some tribes, homosexuals are valued for this gift (Kawamoto & Cheshire, 1997). Native Americans treasure children and respect them as important units of the family and they design many social activities to include youth (Carson et al., 1990; Fantini & Cardenas, 1980; Kawamoto & Cheshire). Because children are often given the same degree of respect as an adult would get, adults set few rules and loosely enforce them; they treat a child's desires with priority and honor them when possible (Bigfoot, 1989; Paniagua, 1994; Phillips & Lobar, 1990).

Children are rewarded for self-reliance and autonomy and learn to be fairly self-sufficient at an early age (Joe & Malach, 1992). For the first 6 years, a child has great freedom, but then the group expects the child to become more collectivist (McCubbin et al., 1998; Paniagua, 1994). Caregivers reward early independence but also expect children to observe and watch before making impulsive decisions (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). Calling attention to oneself is not encouraged nor is the overt expression of aggression and anger; the sooner a child learns self-discipline, the sooner he/she experiences adult approval and attention (Joe & Malach; Phillips & Lobar, 1990).

Birthing and childrearing practices have great spiritual significance and are tied to religious practices (Phillips & Lobar, 1990). For example, the afterbirth from a new baby may be cared for and buried in a special way (Tharp, 1994). Infant feeding involves ceremonial food and drink for both mother and child and breast-feeding is delivered according to the demands of the baby (Phillips & Lobar). Each child receives a spiritual name that is considered a "prized personal possession"; this name protects the child and is kept secret until the child participates in a special naming ceremony (Hildebrand et al., 1996; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). A name may be given during the first month of the baby's life outside of the womb, or it may be given after the child's personality becomes more evident or after the first laugh (Kluckhohn & Leighton, 1974; Phillips & Lobar).

The group celebrates the milestones of life, from pre-birth to death, with different rituals and customs (Phillips & Lobar, 1990). Parents devote a great deal of time to

making special items for children to include in ceremonies or to play with; imperfections in items teach that nothing is perfect (Carson et al., 1990; Fantini & Cardenas, 1980; Hammer & Turner, 1996). When a child meets milestones such as first laugh, acquiring language, walking, or menstruation, adults respond with maximum attention and celebration (Bigfoot, 1989; Kluckhohn & Leighton, 1974; Tharp, 1994). Caregivers treat weaning and toilet training with patience and a relaxed attitude as they allow the child to do these things when ready (Dinges, Trimble, Manson, & Pasquale, 1981; Phillips & Lobar).

Death, another milestone, is a passage to the afterlife; it is a natural process that children are not sheltered from (Kawamoto & Cheshire, 1997; Phillips & Lobar, 1990; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). When a community member passes on, the remaining family members are rarely left alone; they are visited and brought meals and silence may be especially effective (Basso, 1990; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project). There are special death ceremonies where the living may burn or give away possessions that belonged to the deceased member; they also may purify the house and share meals (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project).

Discipline and noninterference. Children are raised cooperatively and while the clan may not typically discipline a child--rather, they watch over the child--any tribal member may because the tribe is interconnected and each member is a part of the family in some way (Blanchard, 1983; Forehand & Kotchick, 1996; Garcia-Coll et al., 1995; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Horejsi et al., 1992; Red Horse, 1983). In some tribes, the uncle serves as the primary disciplinarian (Joe & Malach, 1992; Little Soldier, 1992). However, adults

may choose not to get involved because making one's own choices and learning from experience and natural consequences is more encouraged than an adult imposing his/her own will upon the child (Hammer & Turner; Paniagua, 1994; Red Horse; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). Also, when discipline is necessary, it may be distributed to many in the group so no one particular person takes the blame (Hornett, 1990).

Noninterference, the belief that no person has the right to control or speak for another, is considered to be crucial to a child's development and it extends into adulthood as well (Forehand & Kotchick, 1996; Garcia-Coll et al., 1995; Phillips & Lobar, 1990; Sue & Sue, 1990; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). The values of noninterference communicate respect and self-reliance. Children are allowed to make their own decisions such as attending school, eating, sleeping, or even taking medication, and the group encourages room for self-discovery for social boundaries (Carson et al., 1990; Keltner, 1993; Phillips & Lobar). Free to experiment with a wide range of social, emotional and behavioral expression, children hone their interpersonal skills through natural consequences (Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; Hildebrand et al., 1996; Primeaux, 1977; Red Horse, 1983). Like nature, children express what is natural and unconventional behavior is not necessarily "weeded" out, but left to work itself out through group consequences such as social disregard or shaming; praise is saved for special accomplishments (Carson et al., 1990; Hammer & Turner, 1996).

A child, whose perspective is considered and respected, may even set his/her own discipline standards (McAdoo, 1993). When adults do get involved, discipline is more

social than physical and the group, especially elders, may offer feedback regarding the appropriateness of the intervention (Hammer & Turner, 1996; Keltner, 1993; Red Horse, 1983; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). Physical discipline is uncommon and not typically condoned while shame, embarrassment, withdrawal of approval, and fearful tactics are more common (Carson et al., 1990; Fantini & Cardenas, 1980; Garcia-Coll et al., 1995; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Herring & Meggert, 1994; Hornett, 1990; McDade, 1995; Red Horse, 1983; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project). In some tribes, shame may be viewed as the worst form of punishment and is very effective but for the Hopi, frightening a child into good behavior is the highest form of discipline (Bryde, 1971; Carson et al.). To threaten a naughty child, a person might dress up as a scary Kachina or they may dress up as a beautiful Kachina to visit a good child (Herring & Meggert). Family members may try to instill fear into the child so that they learn that they are only safe with family (Phillips & Lobar, 1990).

Native Americans prefer to model and nurture children into conformity rather than to discipline directly and they often divert children into other activities when they are headed for trouble. Taking away privileges may not be supported as much as other methods nor are tactics that single out a child such as praise, kissing, or spanking (Butterfield & Pepper, 1991; McDade, 1995; Richardson, 1981; Sodowsky & Johnson, 1993). Early on, family involve little ones in helping activities that bind them to the group; they learn to help "herd" others and by age 10, they may have full responsibilities for the younger children (Phillips & Lobar, 1990; Red Horse, 1983). Another acceptable tactic to bring a child in line with group expectations is when an elder tells a story that is

very similar to the situation involving misbehavior and, without using names, the elder relays the message to the person who needs to change (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991).

Special concerns that face this group. Before concluding the section on Native American values, it is pertinent to discuss the concern for the future of the culture and traditional practices. Because most Native American Indians have had to integrate Western culture into their own indigenous ways, a blending of values has occurred. Old child-rearing ways conflict with new ways and oftentimes, adolescents struggle with this conflict as they must decide to listen to their elders or to fit in with peers (Berlin, 1987; Carson et al., 1990; Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). This cultural dissonance explains many current problems that continually threaten the traditional expression of the culture and its spiritual entrails.

The present and ongoing conflict between dominant values and Native American culture has contributed to serious problems that include substance abuse, suicide, teenage pregnancy, educational deficiencies, and poverty (Herring, 1990a; Thompson et al., 1993). High school dropout rates are inflated and only eight percent of Native Americans complete four years of college; unemployment rates on the reservation exceed sixty percent (Dufrene & Coleman, 1992; Thompson et al.). Social threats such as alcohol abuse and suicide are said to be a response to the virtual extinction of the culture (Dufrene & Coleman, 1994; Fleming, 1992; Horejsi et al., 1992; LaFromboise et al., 1990). Over usage of alcohol is a problem that either directly or indirectly affects 95% or more of Native Americans and suicide is the second leading cause of death in youth ages

10-19 (Horejsi et al.; LaFromboise & Howard-Pitney, 1995).

The seeds of cultural erosion of the Native American people were planted when they came in contact with whites and immigrants who discovered and then began exploiting the treasures of these native-dwelled lands. Eventually, government, sportsmen, and financial prospectors pushed the native people to the borders of their homelands and cultural freedom (Marshall, 1995). The government's policy of "assimilate or die" inspired an "Indian Holocaust" that led to destruction through outlawing the practice of religion, which is an integral piece of daily life. Cultural conversion, disease, forced relocation, and the removal of children from their homes and culture also contributed to the depletion of cultural vitality (Carson et al., 1990; Thompson et al., 1993).

Boarding schools were a major destructive force in the cultural annihilation of the Native American group (Berlin, 1987). A prime example of forced assimilation, boarding schools required Native American children to move hundreds of miles away to attend school and learn to be "civilized"; they were not allowed to speak or practice their native language, or to engage in traditional dress and tribal customs (Horejsi et al., 1992; McAdoo, 1993; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). Attempts at escape brought harsh punishment or even death and many boarders were told their families had died to prevent them from fleeing (Kawamoto & Cheshire, 1997).

Boarding school personnel treated Native Americans with harsh physical and sexual abuse; many claim that such domestic violence has now permeated into parenting practices of the victims because this was the model of parenting they learned and they were not allowed the opportunity to learn traditional parenting practices (Dufrene &

Coleman, 1992; Horejsi et al., 1992; Kawamoto & Cheshire, 1997; National Resource Center on Child Sexual Abuse, 1990; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). In 1978, the Indian Child Welfare Act prohibited placing Native American children in non-Native American homes without giving first preference to Native American Families; most likely, the decision of where to place a child is met with recommendations from tribal workers and systems (Hammer & Turner, 1996; Thompson et al., 1993).

In summary, the heavy impact that government has had on the cultural destruction of Native Americans, as well as the forced assimilation and dislocation from native land and communion with nature, has created great acculturation and psychological stress upon the Native American people as a group (Carson et al., 1990; Dufrene & Coleman, 1992). The collective memory of the history of mistreatment towards Native Americans continually affects trust levels with non-natives (Herring, 1997a; LaFromboise et al., 1990). This past history of betrayal and restricted practice of traditional ways reverberates in the modern day culture of Native Americans as they currently struggle to choose which aspects of Anglo culture to adopt while at the same time striving for a balance with the "old ways" (Davis, 1993; DuBray, 1985; Dufrene & Coleman, 1994; Sue & Sue, 1999).

Although these negative practices are no longer legal or prevalent to such destructive extent, they led to a loss of traditional knowledge and practice and Native American people currently strive to maintain cultural heritage. Some see empowerment as a recovering force that may come through a revitalization of indigenous ways, including ceremonial events, language, and crafting skills (Carson et al., 1990). By educating oneself on the history and cultural practices and beliefs, professionals might help

reestablish a trustful connection with this group of people as well as to support them in the alleviation of the adverse conditions associated with their losses.

Latino American Values

Much of the literature on Latino families is dated and describes these families as adhering to “agrarian” values that stress authoritarian parenting, fatalism, familism, and a past and present time orientation. However, with increased amount of time spent in the United States, traditional values blend with dominant societal values that emphasize less authoritarianism, future orientation, looser family ties, and trust extending outside the family network (Chandler, Tsai, & Wharton, 1999; Knight et al., 1994). Likely, changes are the effects of acculturation, education, and upward SES and when ethnically diverse groups adopt Anglo values, some call this “Anglo conformity” (Chandler et al., 1999). However, others note that when a variety of cultures coexist, it is inevitable for a “reciprocal fusion” to occur where each group is expected to move toward a middle position and adopt aspects of one another’s values (Chandler et al.; Kelley & Tseng, 1992).

For example, although the time orientation of Latino Americans has been debated, it has been said that for some Latino Americans, time is seen as flexible and the quality of an experience is more important than being on time (Duran, 1988). Those who are more oriented in the present moment may view punctuality as flexible and that attending to family needs of the moment may warrant being late (Herring, 1997b; Marin & Marin, 1991; Murillo, 1976). Researchers have found that over time, Latinos adopted a more

“modern” view on familism, activism, and future time orientation; trust outside the family network was also more common as was the belief that a person is able to actively direct his/her future (Chandler et al., 1999).

High family pride has been correlated with less acculturation stress in adolescents but some have predicted the extinction, or at least less availability, of extended family orientation (Carson et al., 1990; Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Williams, 1990). However, before one accepts this notion, specific aspects of social networks must be considered. Researchers have broken down social networks into family members vs. friends and found that although friends offer social support, Latino interaction with family members is the primary social support system (Golding & Baezconde-Garbanati, 1990; Vega, Kolody, Valle, & Weir, 1991; Williams). Others have looked at changes in SES as factors involved with extended family involvement and have concluded that lower SES Latino families may have more frequent association with extended family members (Spiwak, 1982). Other factors that are essential to this analysis are the impacts of intermarriage, immigration, and number of generations in the United States (Golding & Baezconde-Garbanati; Hurtado, 1995; Vega, 1995; Vega et al., 1991; Zambrana, 1992).

A more in depth look at familism shows that there are different components to familism. Although some aspects of familism decrease with acculturation, such as perceived obligations to provide material and emotional support, the perception that family members are reliable providers of support for problem solving, does not decrease with either socioeconomic or acculturation differences. Many have found that social and

emotional support are the main resources the extended family provides (Hammer & Turner, 1996; Hurtado, 1995; Marin & Marin, 1991). Overall, even with the diminishment of certain aspects of familism and increased levels of acculturation, Latinos place more importance on familism than non-Latinos, especially Anglos (Hammer & Turner; Hurtado; Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987; Vega, 1995). Although some claim the centrality of the extended family is disappearing, it is still apparent that familism is alive and well in Latino American culture (Williams, 1990).

Besides confusion regarding Latino American social network association, there are other portrayals of Latino Americans that need to be clarified, such as gender roles, and a discussion of this is presented below. Keeping in mind the mixed portrayals of Latino Americans as well as the complicating factors of acculturation and immigration—which will not be discussed in this paper--the reader should interpret the following section with care (Chandler et al., 1999).

General Values.

Familism. The family network is the central unit with immediate and extended family holding priority. Within these large networks, there is generally a high rate of face-to-face visitation and camaraderie (Hurtado, 1995; Vega, 1990). Sometimes, cohabitation with other families is common and married children may live with parents or siblings and their families (Zambrana, 1992). Family boundaries are flexible and may include fictive kin and good friends as well as blood relatives and close friends may be called aunt or uncle (Arredondo, 1996; Chahin, Villarruel, & Viramontez, 1999; Falicov, 1982; Hildebrand et al., 1996; Sue & Sue, 1999; Zegarra, 1998). Extended family members

participate in childrearing and this practice, called *compadrazgo*, embraces the idea that enlarged networks offer more support and protection to children (Hurtado; Vega, Hough, & Romero, 1983).

Ruiz (1995) and Carillo (1982) describe each family member's role: grandparents offer wisdom, mothers sacrifice while fathers take responsibility, children are obedient, and godparents provide resources. Although some claim that the bonds between families and godparents are not as true as they once were, godparents and coparents may still be significant family members (Williams, 1990). Coparents, or *padrinos*, once served—and often still do-- as mediators for a new couple (Arroyo, 1997; Falicov, 1982; Lopez-Baez, 1997; Sanchez, 1997). Traditionally, godparents, also referred to as *compadres*, were friends of the family whose inclusion would extend family networks; they were available for milestone events such as baptism or marriage and committed to lifelong financial responsibilities (Arredondo, 1996; Lum, 1992; National Resource Center on Child Sexual Abuse, 1990; Williams). However, Williams (1990) reports that a modern day godparent may be a family friend, but is more likely to be a relative who has less obligation for financial concerns and other long-term commitment.

Because the family is an extension of the self, there is a strong sense of loyalty and reciprocal obligation to this unit (Arredondo, 1996; Chahin et al., 1999; Fitzpatrick & Travieso, 1980; Lopez-Baez, 1997; Hampson et al., 1990; Zegarra, 1998). The extended family is a major source of support as well as a buffer for life stressors and there is strong interdependence and reliance among members (Cagan, 1994; Cervantes & Ramirez, 1992; Dana, 1993; Falicov, 1982; Forehand & Kotchick, 1996; Hayes, 1997; Hildebrand

et al., 1996; Zambrana, 1992; Zegarra). This interdependence is intergenerational and elders, who transmit culture and are valued for their wisdom and lifelong contributions to the family, are rarely placed in nursing homes as that would be seen as rejection and abandonment and would be shirking family responsibility (Chahin et al.; Hampson et al.; Hildebrand et al.; National Resource Center on Child Sexual Abuse, 1990).

Because of this tight connectedness, emotional needs are primarily met through the family and separation may bring extreme sorrow while reunion may bring extreme joy (Atkinson, 1997; Bulcroft, et al., 1996; Cagan, 1994; Falicov, 1982; Vega, 1990; Zuniga, 1992). When death occurs, family gather together and often share food, but grieving may be done more privately (Williams, 1990). Individuals are loyal to the family unit and place it above all—work, material gain, and even education (Avila & Avila, 1995; Hildebrand et al.). A person may save money to visit a distant relative rather than buy furniture and may sacrifice a job by extending the visit to accommodate the needs of the family (Hildebrand et al., 1996). Although the home is where the most important education occurs, formal education is highly revered as long as it reflects back upon the family or group rather than the individual (Hildebrand et al.; Paniagua, 1994). However, obtaining higher education may be a hard decision for a family member to make because it may be deemed as a selfish act that ‘abandons’ the family (Herring, 1997b).

Respeto and personalism. Childrearing is shared by parents, older siblings, and extended members of the family (Falicov, 1982; Forehand & Kotchick, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1999). They raise children with a key value-- to respect elders, obey household values, and to be obedient (Atkinson, 1997; Cervantes & Ramirez, 1992; Lum, 1992; Newlon,

Barboa, & Arciniega, 1986; Sue & Sue). In turn, children may appear quiet and submissive to those who do not understand this behavior in the context of *respeto* (Avila & Avila, 1995). By treating parents and elders with gentleness and respect, and acting in an obedient way that is socially expected and harmonious to the family, one demonstrates *bien educados* and this pride-in-the-family behavior positively reflects back upon the family (Arredondo, 1996; Atkinson; Cagan, 1994; Falicov; Harwood, 1992; Marin & Marin, 1991; Paniagua, 1994; Zuniga, 1992). Status is not what is respected because every individual deserves respect—it is a part of humanity (Hildebrand et al., 1996). All living things and life itself, deserve respect and it is important to communicate to another person that their personal power is acknowledged (Cervantes & Ramirez; Marin & Marin).

The needs of the group supercedes that of the individual and a personal goal may go undiscussed out of respect for the group and the expense it may bring to group members (Hildebrand et al., 1996; Lopez-Baez, 1997; Lum, 1992; McDade, 1995; Paniagua, 1994; Sue & Sue, 1999). Responsibility to the group is a cooperative effort that is highly approved by the family and may require an older child to stay home from school to tend younger siblings while a parent attends an important appointment for a family member (Hildebrand et al.; Trankina, 1983). *Simpatia*, which is harmony and group cooperation, emphasizes politeness and nonconfrontation and is more important than conflict and competition (Arredondo, 1996; Arroyo, 1997; Falicov, 1982; Halpern, 1990; Herring, 1997b; Marin & Marin, 1991; Shapiro & Simonsen, 1994; Sue & Sue; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991; Thompson et al., 1993; Yamamoto & Acosta, 1982).

Simpatia also involves polite behavior such as small talk, which is a social courtesy that establishes rapport and camaraderie (Arredondo; Green, 1995).

Instead of direct confrontation, analogies and metaphors are subtle and indirect ways used to communicate thoughts and feelings (Arredondo, 1996; National Resource Center on Child Sexual Abuse, 1990). Relationships are warm, nurturing, and highly personal; they are characteristic of mutual empathy and interdependence and the overt expression of love and affection is common among family and friends (Hampson et al., 1990; Hayes, 1997; Lopez-Baez, 1997; Zegarra, 1998; Zuniga, 1992). Displays of positive emotions are acceptable, but negative displays are not (Zuniga). The repression of anger shows mutual respect, not only for the self, but for others because even when angry, it is important to show concern for another's feelings (Durrett et al., 1975; Forehand & Kotchick, 1996; Murillo, 1976). When aggression must be expressed, it should be done indirectly—through gossip or projecting onto societal issues (Falicov, 1982; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991).

This informal and warm collectivist approach known as *personalismo* has been interpreted as enmeshment from cultural outsiders (Shapiro & Simonsen, 1994). For example, a mother may socialize her children to remain in close proximity to her but this has been misinterpreted as overbearing behavior that discourages independence (Harwood, 1992; Marin & Marin, 1991). Latino parents spend a great deal of time interacting with their children and it may be perfectly acceptable for a mother to accompany her children to and from school (Trankina, 1983). Professionals should be considerate of the value of *personalismo* because it may affect rapport—this may involve

accepting gifts, being invited to significant family events, sharing hugs, and disclosing personal information to facilitate the therapeutic relationship (Hayes, 1997; Padilla, 1981; Paniagua, 1994; Shapiro & Simonsen; Sue & Sue, 1999).

Gender roles. Much of the literature talks about traditional sex roles being clearly divided between males and females (Atkinson, 1997; Avila & Avila, 1995). The term to describe women, *hembrismo*, is the submissive and passive role of server and nurturer to family. She relinquishes her power and influence outside of the domestic arena but in the private sphere she is seen as the substance behind the man and is able to quietly exercise her power behind the scenes (Carlson, 1990; Green, 1995; Hayes, 1997; Hildebrand et al., 1996; Paniagua, 1994; Williams, 1990; Zegarra, 1998). Williams (1990) explains that in situations where personal autonomy is a struggle, a woman may even become deceptive to gain control.

Women are also profiled as being spiritually superior and virtuous, much like the Virgin Mary (Hayes, 1997). They are granted with strength and the ability to endure suffering that may be brought on by a man, who is not always able to control his instinctive behavior (Bartz & Levine, 1978; Dana, 1993; Falicov, 1982; Paniagua, 1994). However, if a woman does not live up to the expectations of being innocent and pure, she experiences the "Madonna/whore complex" and quickly falls from her pedestal (Williams, 1990). Men are traditionally defined as *machismo*, which emphasizes the male as dominant, authoritarian, aggressive, emotionally in control, and sexually virile and experienced—both pre and post-marital status (Cagan, 1994; Falicov; Fitzpatrick & Travieso, 1980; Rios & Ofman, 1972; Zegarra, 1998).

More recent studies have shown that these clearly defined roles for men, and women too (even though there is not much discussion on the myth of the female role), are based more on negative stereotypes than factual reality and that these traditional sex roles are questionable and under researched (Arredondo, 1996; Atkinson, 1997; Bronstein, 1984; Gonzales, 1997; Herring, 1997b; McAdoo, 1993; Shapiro & Simonsen, 1994; Vasquez & Gonzalez, 1981). It is more likely that decision making is more egalitarian between males and females, and the myth of the traditional male dominating *machismo* is more of an exception than the norm (Atkinson; Ramirez & Arce, 1981; Vasquez & Gonzalez; Williams, 1990). More accurate and positive translations of *machismo* stress the male obligation and responsibility to protect the family and provide for its well-being; men should be courteous, courageous, honest, fair, loyal, and should bring honor to the family (Dana, 1993; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Lopez-Baez, 1997; Ramirez & Arce). It is the role and its responsibilities, rather than the individual, that is respected (Bulcroft et al., 1996; Hayes, 1997; Hildebrand et al., 1996).

Perhaps the "older" portrayal of male and female roles did not account for the effects of acculturation on traditional sex roles and how they are played out in more modern Latino families. Even though some have found that education level and women's employment outside the home does not affect egalitarianism in Latino families, the more acculturated, bicultural, or educated a family is, the more likely they are to share equality in decision making and the less likely they are to adhere to traditional divisions between sex roles (Atkinson, 1997; Bartz & Levine, 1978; Durrett et al., 1975; Hurtado, 1995 Sanchez, 1997).

Out of financial necessity, Latinas frequently work outside the home and this has been said to change, if not cause conflict, with how traditional roles are played out in the family (Hammer & Turner, 1996; Hildebrand et al., 1996; Ortiz, 1995; Rios, & Ofman, 1972; Vega, 1995; Williams, 1990). A woman's role in the family has broadened from mother to provider and entails power in both public and private arenas. Latinas who work outside the home are more likely to achieve personal and social identity both publically and privately and there is likely more balance of authority between husband and wife (Carlson, 1990). The majority of Latinas mix independence with family orientation and are less dependent on a spouse and have higher self worth; in highly traditional families, this may create marital conflicts (Rios & Ofman).

In situations where the female is employed and the male is not, due to difficulty finding work, the man may feel he is not living up to his expectations and his wife's independence might bring stress and anxiety (Sue & Sue, 1999). Although a woman's family still takes precedence over her career, she is likely to experience guilt at leaving her family to work and she may suffer symptoms of "super mom syndrome"; however, the working mom may also increase her levels of outside social support (Carlson, 1990; Espin, 1985; Hayes, 1997; Vega et al., 1991). Being bicultural is also likely to allow a person to appreciate values from both cultures. Gutierrez and Samerhoff (1990) found that highly acculturated Latino mothers are more flexible in views of how children should develop appropriately. In fact, these mothers were more open-minded than highly acculturated Anglo mothers and the authors explained that this difference was due to the Latino mothers being bicultural and thus, more flexible.

Spiritualism and health. Inner qualities such as dignity, respect, loyalty, justice, love, and sacrifice of material possessions are more important than outward material success. Developing the spirit and the soul are important but the mind, body, and spirit are one and most agree that good health is due to balance and harmony with God, family, social relations, and cultural teachings (Cervantes & Ramirez, 1992; Dana, 1993; Falicov, 1982; Lopez-Baez, 1997). Illness or disability may be due to evil forces and spiritism is the belief in the invisible world of spirits and that spirits can bring afflictions or impact behavior (Cervantes & Ramirez; Dana; Paniagua, 1994; Zuniga, 1992). *Santeria*, *Curanderismo*, and *Santiguando* are all terms for the use of herbs, rituals, and prayer to ward off and balance external forces that create illness (Arredondo, 1996; Chahin et al., 1999; Dana). Folk and natural healers use these methods to realign balance and healers, as well as relatives, friends, priests, and the family doctor are the first resources sought after (Dana; Vega et al., 1983). There may be stigma attached to seeking services from a mental health professional and thus, they may be a last resort (Dana; Falicov; Hayes, 1997; Paniagua, 1994; Sue & Sue, 1999; Trankina, 1983; Vega, 1990; Zegarra, 1998).

Specific Childrearing Values.

Latino parents emphasize child achievement and show strong expression of affection for children (Zegarra, 1998). Children are a source of pride, and when a young couple marries and enters parenthood, this is seen as a stabilizing event (Sue & Sue, 1999). Children validate marriage and it may be seen as abnormal for a couple to remain childless (Vega et al., 1983; Zuniga, 1992). As discussed with other cultural groups, acculturation levels, SES, and education levels affect the method of discipline and

parenting practices that Latino parents choose and research results are mixed.

Discipline. Children are expected to follow group norms and discipline is seen as an opportunity to educate the child into proper behavior; it is a time to teach morals and may involve guilt, rejection, or physical punishment (Atkinson, 1997; Vega et al., 1983). A number of studies portray Latino American parenting as rather permissive; "permissive" is defined as engaging in warm and supportive interactions with minimal focus on direction or discipline (Sanchez, 1997; Spiwak, 1982; Zuniga, 1992). Despite other claims that Latino parents are highly authoritarian and strict, and that corporal punishment is widely accepted within the culture, this is disputable (Avila & Avila, 1995; Bulcroft et al., 1996; Dana, 1993; Durrett et al., 1975; McDade, 1995; Sue & Sue, 1999; Zegarra, 1998). Physical discipline is not always accepted by Latino parents and may not necessarily be used more than in other ethnic groups. Weller, Romney, and Orr (1987) found that Latino and Anglo children did not report differences in how often they were spanked. A parent training study conducted by Atkinson (1997), showed that Latino parents did not rate physical punishment or scolding with criticism as preferred methods of discipline.

Parra & Henderson (1982) stated that physical punishment is more likely used in lower SES families, but Spiwak (1982) found that although lower SES Latino families used spanking more often than middle SES Latino families, both groups used it. Other studies suggest education level is a factor in parenting with more acculturated and educated parents using authoritative parenting practices that foster independence in children with less parental control (Atkinson, 1997; Laosa, 1981). In addition to acculturation,

education, and SES levels, parenting styles may be correlated with the extent of interaction with social networks. Some researchers have found that extended network interaction provides more opportunities for people to regulate their behavior and thus, frequent interaction among extended family is likely to serve as a form of social control (MacPhee, Fritz, & Miller-Heyl, 1996; Rook, 1990). Latino parents may not support the idea of taking away privileges and results are mixed on whether they prefer educating, reasoning, and positive reinforcement to physical punishment (McDade, 1995). Hammer and Turner (1996) propose that authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive parenting—or some combination—is likely and practical for many Latino parents.

Fatalism. Many writers talk about the Latino belief in destiny and how fate affects the way a person is treated or how their behavior is accepted (Fitzpatrick & Travieso, 1980; Sue & Sue, 1999). Fatalism is depicted in the beliefs that life's fortunes or misfortunes are inevitable or that a child's behavior is not malleable because each individual is born with a certain set of characteristics (Shapiro & Simonsen, 1994; Sue & Sue). Supernatural forces may also determine a person's good or bad nature (Atkinson, 1997; Dana, 1993; Paniagua, 1994; Sue & Sue; Sutherland, 1983). Latino parents are often very accepting of children's individual development and having them meet milestones in a timely pattern is not a main concern (Zuniga, 1992). Children are accepted without judgment as long as they show respect and obedience (Falicov, 1982; Sanchez, 1997). A 3-year-old who drinks from a bottle, or a 5-year-old who sits on mother's lap, are not viewed as deviant from within cultural context (Falicov; Zuniga). Despite a number of articles that discuss fatalism as inherent in Latino belief systems, Padilla (1981) proposes

that fatalism is a myth that disappears when SES is controlled for.

Hierarchical and parental roles. Although decision making may involve interdependent egalitarianism, a hierarchical social structure is still likely to exist where the male has power over the female and the older children over the younger (Paniagua, 1994; Sue & Sue, 1999; Williams, 1990). Roles are determined by a person's age and gender (Arroyo, 1997; Cervantes & Ramirez, 1992; Falicov, 1982; Fitzpatrick & Travieso, 1980; National Resource Center on Child Sexual Abuse, 1990; Yamamoto & Acosta, 1982). The older members of the family shield children from adult concerns and children do not typically contribute to family decisions (Hildebrand et al., 1996; Sue & Sue; Thompson et al., 1993; Vega et al., 1983; Zegarra, 1998). The father instills in his children respect for their mother, others, and themselves (Falicov). He is likely the disciplinarian and maintains respect by using his power fairly and justly (Cagan, 1994; Hammer & Turner, 1996).

Many report Latino fathers to be very involved with their children (Powell, 1995). The strictness of the father's role may vary according to the age of the child; younger children solicit more permissive and warm, playful behaviors from the father while older children and their father have a relationship that entails more strict and disciplinarian interactions (Falicov, 1982; Hammer & Turner, 1996; Murillo, 1976). The entire family mimics these age norms by highly indulging young children and placing more demands on older children such as doing chores, childcare, providing interpretive services, and financially contributing to the household (Hildebrand et al., 1996). Children physically and financially contribute to the family and in return, parents assist them during young

adulthood and marriage (Sue & Sue, 1999; Vega et al., 1983).

The mother's role is to enforce respectful behavior and to teach and set guidelines (Cagan, 1994). She may have a closer relationship with her children, especially her daughters, than with her husband (Falicov, 1982; Hammer & Turner, 1996). Childrearing is often described as a joint endeavor and there is probably a wide variety of gender role arrangements that range from traditional to egalitarianism and somewhere in between (Sanchez, 1997; Vega, 1995). Bronstein (1984) found that Latino mothers were more physically nurturing than fathers, yet fathers were warm and egalitarian. They also found that mothers and fathers did not differ in their acts of scolding, criticism, or hostility and there were no differences in mothers and fathers use of teaching morals or correct behavior. Fathers were highly involved with children and spent more time with playful activities that involved participating with the child while mothers spent their time with care taking interactions. Fathers paid more interest to what sons had to say than daughters and fathers imposed more views on daughters and were less attentive to their opinions; they were also more gentle with daughters than sons.

This treatment suggests that fathers socialize girls differently than boys and the eventual products may be that males feel they have important things to say while females may act more fragile and may feel their views are subservient to males (Bronstein, 1984). Although gender-role distinctions may be fading, researchers still report that regardless of SES and acculturation levels, there are still different expectations for boys than for girls (Parra & Henderson, 1982; Sanchez, 1997). Examples of gender socialization differences include reports that Latino parents encourage boys to gain knowledge and are given more

freedom to explore the world; they allow male adolescents greater independence than females who have earlier curfews (Hammer & Turner, 1996; Lum, 1992; Murillo, 1976; Sanchez; Sue & Sue 1999).

Females also have greater restrictions in regards to sexual behavior and freedom. Girls are raised to be feminine and innocent and are more closely monitored (Hammer & Turner, 1996; Sanchez, 1997). Although premarital sex is discouraged, it is common in modern-day society (Sanchez). However, this act may bring more serious consequences for females than males. Fathers become proud when their daughter demonstrates *respeto* and *dignidad* by remaining a virgin until marriage—ruining her virginity would reflect a serious moral failure and this can create tension between a father and his daughter (Fitzpatrick & Travieso, 1980; Sue & Sue, 1999; Trankina, 1983; Vega et al., 1983). Acculturation differences within the generations of the family can strain traditional gender and age roles and thus, can cause distress and parent-child conflict (Espin, 1985; Gonzales, 1997; National Resource Center on Child Sexual Abuse, 1990; Sanchez; Sue & Sue, 1999; Vega, 1990; Vega et al., 1983).

Anglo-American Values

Given the extensive discussion on the values of the four major ethnically diverse groups of American society, it is important to define what many call “mainstream,” “majority,” or “dominant” values. Often these values are described as being Anglo-American values. This discussion is offered so that the reader can compare and contrast the differences and similarities in values among Americans of different cultural

backgrounds. This type of comparison is necessary for understanding of how someone from a different cultural frame of reference might perceive daily life that emphasizes the more dominant values of American society. As with the previous sections on values, this section on "mainstream" values is presented in broad categories and descriptions that are merely a reflection of the literature on the topic of western society and will not generalize to every Anglo-American.

In general, the dominant values of American society focus on individualism that encompasses the emphasis on a nuclear family that is geographically distant, self-sufficient and independent from the extended family. Privacy and personal space are valued (Hanson, 1992b; Locke & Parker, 1995). This orientation toward the self inspires independence, autonomy, and an internal locus of control where one believes one can self-actualize and intervene in and create a personal destiny (Cheatham, 1990; Cheng, 1997; Dana, 1993; Deeds, Stewart, Bond, & Westrick, 1998; Falicov, 1982; Fitzpatrick & Travieso, 1980; Green, 1995; Hanson, 1992a; Harrison et al., 1990; Harwood, 1992; Hayes, 1997; Herring, 1997b; Hui & Rudowicz, 1997; Kobayashi, 1989; Levine, 1980; Locke & Parker; Okagaki & Sternberg, 1993; Sadowsky & Johnson, 1993; Sue & Sue, 1990; Trankina, 1983; White, 1984).

American culture has been described as being youth-oriented, where society idealizes beauty, thinness, and eternal youth (Bigfoot, 1989; Iancu, Spivak, Ratzoni, Apter, & Weizman, 1994; White, 1984). There is a strong focus on the individual to become upwardly mobile and success comes through achievement, accomplishment, and recognition or even fame (DuBray, 1985; Fitzpatrick & Travieso, 1980; Harrison et al.,

1990; Heinrich, Corbine, & Thomas, 1990; Herring, 1997b; Leslie, 1998). Power, status, and a person's title may communicate more to someone than what kind of a person he/she is (Cheng, 1997). Competition is imbedded in daily life and is inherent to success and may require the manipulation of others to achieve (DuBray; Herring, 1997b; Hornett, 1990; Leslie; Levine, 1980; Sue & Sue, 1990). Materialism and success are intertwined and are defined by accumulating private property and personal belongings; this requires one to be house and job oriented and to adopt an active and doing orientation (Cheatham, 1990; Cheng, 1997; Heinrich et al., 1990; Hui & Rudowicz, 1997; Iancu et al., 1994; Leslie; Locke & Parker, 1995; Murillo, 1976; Sadowsky & Johnson, 1993).

Daily life is governed by a future time orientation that emphasizes time as money, punctuality and planning for the future (Bigfoot, 1989; Cheatham, 1990; Cheng, 1997; DuBray, 1985; Fitzpatrick & Travieso, 1980; Green, 1995; Heinrich et al., 1990; Herring, 1997b; Locke & Parker, 1995; Murillo, 1976; Sadowsky & Johnson, 1993; White, 1984). Communication is often informal and is highly verbal, inquisitive, direct and assertive (Falicov, 1982; Fitzpatrick & Travieso; Green; Hanson, 1992a; Heinrich et al.; Hui & Rudowicz, 1997; Murillo; Okagaki & Sternberg, 1993). Nonverbal communication involves direct eye contact and firm handshakes (Cheng; Daniel & Smitherman-Donaldson, 1990; Hanson, 1992a). Emotional and self-control are valued and egalitarian relationships are strived for (Cheng; Falicov, 1982; Green; Harwood, 1992; Herring; Kochman, 1990; Trankina, 1983; White).

A common premise of Anglo-American culture is that the earth and its inhabitants are here for humans to develop, control, and explain (Cheatham, 1990; Cheng, 1997;

Fitzpatrick & Travieso, 1980; Heinrich et al., 1990; Herring, 1997b; Hornett, 1990; Sue & Sue, 1990). Questions are answered through science and that which is objective and observable is often endorsed over intuition (Cheatham; Cheng; DuBray, 1985; Herring; Locke & Parker, 1995; Trankina, 1983). Although alternative medicine is utilized, it is not always professionally or politically endorsed; medical doctors, or those with higher educational training are often first sought out for psychological or physical health concerns (Hanson, 1992b).

This summary of Anglo-American values is often, and unfortunately, accompanied by eurocentrism that expects these dominant values to be universal for all people in America (Cagan, 1994; Cheatham, 1990; White, 1984). When those in power adhere to a majority value system, societal expectations that are based on Anglo-American values are likely to dictate what is "normal" and people who have no other exposure to anything different naturally take for granted that there are others who have historically adhered to very different belief systems. The negative impact of cultural encapsulation is racism and misinterpretation and misunderstanding of behavior which often leads to discrimination. In one cultural context, values such as interdependence and fatalism can be celebrated while in another, they can be devalued (Hayes, 1997).

The purpose of this section was to emphasize value distinctions and similarities between and among people from various backgrounds. Table 1 is offered to assist the reader in analyzing particular values that may be commonly held among individuals from culturally diverse backgrounds but that may not be consistent with Caucasian American values.

Table 1

Values that Might Conflict with Caucasian American Values

Interdependence	Family Structure	Fatalism
Social Harmony	Hierarchy	Discipline
Spirituality	Communication Styles	Noninterference
Time	Racial/Cultural Identity & History	Science vs. Nature

CROSS-CULTURAL PARENTING PROGRAMS

This section will include a discussion of parenting programs that are culturally-specific or adapted for parents in each of the four ethnic group categories. A description of program content and program research will be included. Programs for African Americans will include the *Effective Black Parenting Program (EBPP)*. Programs for Latino Americans are the *Houston Parent-Child Development Center (HP-CDC)* project, *Los Ninos Bien Educados*, and the *Mercedes Independent School District (MISD)* project. *Positive Indian Parenting (PIP)* and a proposal for a parent training program developed by Bigfoot (1989) will be discussed for Native Americans. Several literature searches revealed no culturally-specific programs for Asian Americans. In addition to these culturally-specific or culturally-modified programs, research studies that looked at standard parent training programs with a majority of participants from the culturally diverse backgrounds discussed in this paper, will be briefly discussed.

Programs for African Americans

Effective Black Parenting Program.

In 1974, Alvy founded the Center for Improvement of Child Caring (CICC), a nonprofit research and training corporation. Through this center, Alvy developed the *Effective Black Parenting Program (EBPP)* which is a cognitive-behavioral parenting program that targets African American parents. The *EBPP* is a culturally-adapted program in that it contains essential content found in traditional cognitive-behavioral

parent training programs, yet it is designed to incorporate the values of the target population by integrating historical and contemporary sociocultural issues related to African Americans.

The *EBPP* began as a project called the Culturally Adapted Parent Training Project. Alvy (1988) sought to discover which adaptations could be made to standard parent training programs so that programs would be relevant to African American families. The project employed a multiracial staff of mental health, child development, and education experts who used Rohner's Parental Acceptance Questionnaire (Rohner, 1984) to conduct pre- and post-test interviews with 100 African American parents who had children in Head Start; slightly over half of them were from lower SES backgrounds. Staff also interviewed 100 low-income and 100 middle-income Caucasian American parents. These interviews helped provide insight into differences in childrearing perspectives and parenting practices and the results guided program content (Alvy, 1988).

To gather childrearing data, Alvy used a technique called Associative Group Analysis where parents offered word associations to various parenting concepts. The associations were evaluated in terms of how these parents viewed raising children and how they disciplined children. The answers from the Caucasian groups were compared to the African American group answers and the most salient finding was that African Americans had to raise children in the context of racism and discrimination; over half of the African American parents approached "Blackness" issues with their children. It was also found that the racial groups held different views about raising children and discipline. Caucasian American parents were reported to use more specific praise when a

child obeyed than were African American parents. For major disobedience, African American parents used physical punishment more and discussion less than did Caucasian American parents (Alvy, 1988; Alvy, 1994).

With the parents who participated in the Associative Group Analysis, Alvy conducted a pilot study where he adapted the Confident Parenting Program (Eimers & Aitchison, 1977 as cited in Alvy, 1988) into a training approach he later called the *EBPP*. To adapt the program, Alvy found that he needed to create a rationale for African American parents to learn alternative parenting approaches by linking novel skills to parenting goals. Alvy also connected behavior that parents model and teach to children with fostering child characteristics that are needed to meet goals parents have for their children. Alvy reported that when conducting parent training, he found it helpful to employ a "call-response technique" where the speaker calls out to the audience and the audience returns verbal confirmation; this technique resembled the highly verbal interaction between an African American minister and congregation (Alvy).

The *EBPP* teaches strategies along with specific skills in fifteen three-hour sessions; in between sessions, parents are given assignments to practice skills at home. Components of the program include teaching parents to use specific praise and positive consequences as well as negative consequences that include mild social disapproval, ignoring, time-out, and response-cost. In addition, parents are encouraged to explain the reasons behind rules they set for their children and parents are urged to explore a variety of etiological explanations for misbehavior, especially developmental levels. Traditional discipline (corporal punishment) and modern self-discipline, that teaches the child to

internalize self-standards, are discussed as are issues that African American parents face, such as racism and pride in ethnic identity (Myers et al., 1992). A parent support group is offered and there is even a session devoted to single parenthood and another that discusses drug awareness and prevention of drug abuse in children (Gorman & Balter, 1997).

EBPP research. Myers et al. (1992) conducted a quasi-experimental 2-year study of the *EBPP* that involved two cohorts of low-income African American parents with at-risk first or second graders. Cohort I involved the first group of families and a replication with the second group 1 year later constituted Cohort II. Participants from both cohorts were described as living in "high-risk" inner-city environments that were typified by underemployment, high crime and violence rates, and high rates of substance abuse. For both cohorts, schools the children attended were nonrandomly assigned to be treatment schools or control schools (Myers et al., 1992).

For Cohort I, 35 African American parents from the control schools and 107 African American parents from treatment schools began treatment. Of the 107 parents in the treatment group, 64 completed seven of the fifteen sessions, and of these 64 parents, 28 actually attended all 15 sessions. All 64 parents from the treatment group and 28 parents from the control group completed the post-test. In addition to the pre- and post-test assessments, those in the first cohort also completed measures at one-year post-treatment. In Cohort II, 45 African American parents from the treatment schools and 36 African American parents from the control schools participated in sessions and completed post-test measures. All 45 of the parents in the treatment group attended seven or more classes

with 34 of these parents attending all 15 sessions (Myers et al., 1992).

At pre-test, African American interviewers spent 30 minutes interviewing the target-child and then conducted a 2 ½ hour structured interview with parents. Parents completed the Parental Acceptance/Rejection Questionnaire for Mothers (Mother PARQ; Rohner, 1984) and the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983). Potential factors impacting outcomes (e.g., parental psychological distress, substance abuse, and SES) were gathered through parent self-reports. At post-test, parents again completed the PARQ and the CBCL. Parents in Cohort I also completed the Retrospective Family Relationships Questionnaire (RETRO; Alvy et al., 1982) at post-test whereas parents in Cohort II completed the Parenting Practices Inventory (PPI; Alvy & Arrington, 1985) instead of the RETRO. At follow-up, only parents in the treatment group from Cohort I completed the PPI and the CBCL (Myers et al., 1992).

Results were evaluated with a group x time MANCOVA for both cohort analyses to determine general program effects on parental acceptance-rejection (PARQ), parenting practices (PPI), family relationships (RETRO-Cohort I only), and child behavior problems and child competencies (CBCL). Then, if there were significant group x time interaction effects, univariate ANCOVA was used as a post-hoc analysis to look further into significant findings. Measures to assess the possible co-factors included the Green (1970) three-factor system to assess family SES; the revised Social Role Strain Questionnaire (SRSQ; Ilfeld, 1977; Myers, Adams, Tiggle, & Miles, 1985) assessed family role strains that are experienced by adult family members; a self-report questionnaire asked parents to report their current and past use of a variety of addictive

substances; and the Hopkins Symptoms Checklist (HSCL-57; Derogatis, Lipman, Rickels, Uhlenhuth, & Covi, 1974) assessed parental psychological distress.

PARQ. The Mother PARQ measures parental acceptance and rejection and includes measures of warmth, rejection, and indifference. For Cohort I, Myers et al. (1992) found significant group x time interaction effects on the PARQ ($p < .02$). Their post-hoc analyses indicated significant decreases from pre- to post-test for parents in the treatment group on the undifferentiated rejection scale while parents in the control group showed significant ($p < .03$) increases on this subscale. A similar post-hoc analysis on the warmth dimension showed a significant increase for parents in the control group whereas parents in the treatment group showed no changes ($p < .02$). As with Cohort I, there was an overall effect (group x time interaction) for Cohort II on parental acceptance/rejection ($p < .006$) and post-hoc analyses indicated these results were due to changes in hostile rejection ($p < .0005$) and undifferentiated rejection ($p < .006$). Parents in the treatment group showed significant decreases in hostile rejection and undifferentiated rejection and parents in the control group showed increases in these areas. No other significant changes were found on this measure (Myers et al., 1992).

CBCL. For Cohort I, Myers et al. (1992) found no significant group differences on the CBCL total behavior scale or overall social competence. However, when the researchers differentiated results for boys from those for girls, they found that boys in the treatment group were reported to have significant decreases in withdrawn and hyperactive behaviors while boys from the control group had increases in these behaviors ($p < .04$; $p < .03$). For girls in the treatment group, there were reductions in sexual problem behaviors and for

girls in the control group, parents reported increases in sexual problem behaviors ($p < .02$; Myers et al.). For Cohort II, the CBCL ratings showed that both boys and girls in the treatment group were reported to have significantly reduced delinquent behaviors ($p < .01$) but boys and girls in the control group had slight increases in these behaviors. Social competency significantly increased for girls in the treatment group ($p < .05$) only.

PPI. The PPI measures the frequency of self-reported parenting practices. Three major components of this scale included warm, accepting behaviors; hostile, aggressive behaviors; and parental involvement with the child. Based on the pre-post analysis, there were no significant effects on this measure for parents in Cohort I. In Cohort II, parents in the treatment group reported increases in using praise and parents in the control group reported a decrease ($p < .009$). Parents in the treatment group also reported a significant decrease in their use of spanking while parents in the control group reported no change ($p < .03$; Myers et al., 1992).

RETRO. The RETRO is designed to measure the quality of parent-child relationships. It assesses parent-perceived changes in the quality of the parent's relationship with the target child as well as other children in the family, other family members, and with the parent's spouse or significant other. Myers et al. (1992) administered the RETRO only at post-test to Cohort I parents in the treatment and control groups. Using post-only ANCOVAs and post-hoc analysis, Myers et al. reported that parents in the treatment group indicated significantly improved relationships with the target-child ($p < .02$) as well as with other parent and family members ($p < .03$).

Follow-up results. Only 48 families in Cohort I received one-year follow-up

interviews to assess post-test changes on child behavior, parental acceptance-rejection, and parenting practices outcomes. The follow-up CBCL results indicated no long-term significant changes in overall social competence or total problem behaviors. However, the reductions in hyperactive and withdrawn behaviors in boys and the reductions in sexual problem behaviors in girls that were evident at post-treatment for Cohort I were found to be maintained at one-year follow-up. Although Cohort I boys in the treatment group did not indicate significant reductions in uncommunicative behaviors at post-test, they did show significant reductions in uncommunicative behaviors ($p < .02$) at follow-up. Also at follow-up, parents reported increases in delinquent behaviors for Cohort I girls in the treatment group that were not evident at post-test. Follow-up results for parental acceptance/rejection indicated no significant changes, but increases in the use of hostile aggressive parenting practices ($p < .0005$) were found in parents in the treatment group (Myers et al., 1992).

In summary, the Myers et al. (1992) study on the *EBPP* yielded mixed results. The program helped reduce parental rejection and may have improved aspects of parent-child and family relations. It may also have contributed to decreases in problem behaviors in boys, such as withdrawal, hyperactivity, and delinquency and it may have helped increase social competency and decrease sexual problem behaviors in girls. One-year follow-up results yielded mixed results as well with maintained positive changes in some areas and new changes since post-test that were both positive and negative. At follow-up, there were maintained reductions in hyperactive and withdrawn behaviors in boys as well as continued reductions in sexual behaviors in girls. However, there were changes that were

not evident at post-test that included reductions in boys uncommunicative behavior, increases in girls delinquent behavior, and increases in parents use of hostile and aggressive parenting practices (Myers et al., 1992).

Like Myers et al. (1992), Pitts (2001) utilized a low-income African American group of mothers to empirically evaluate the *EBPP*. Pitts enlisted elementary school principals to become involved in recruiting families to participate in the *EBPP* and then randomly assigned mothers of children aged 3 to 12 to a treatment and a wait-list control group. Children were included in the study if they were rated as having externalizing behavior problems that were in the borderline or clinically significant range on the CBCL (Pitts, 2001). Due to time constraints, the *EBPP* program was modified by having eight 2-hour sessions rather than fifteen 3 hour sessions; sessions were combined so that basic program content was still delivered, but with less time to model techniques and discuss issues in-depth. The control group did not participate in any activity, except completing the outcome measures, until after the treatment group training ended; then the parents in the control group participated in the same training (Pitts).

Measures that were given at pre-test, midpoint, post-test, and at a one-month follow-up included the CBCL, the Eyberg Child Behavior Inventory (ECBI; Eyberg & Pincus, 1990), the Parenting Stress Index (PSI; Abidin, 1986), the Hereford Parent Attitude Survey (HPAS; Hereford, 1963), and the Parental Satisfaction Questionnaire (PSQ; Forehand & McMahon, 1981). The Teacher's Report Form (TRF; Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983) was also distributed at all data collection times but not all teachers completed the inventory. Of the completed TRFs, many did not show severe behavior

problems to occur at school even though the CBCL did indicate behavior problems at home (Pitts, 2001).

Results of the Pitts (2001) study indicated no significant positive effects for the *EBPP*. On the ECBI, there were no changes in parent-reported child behavior problems for the treatment or control groups. Parents did not report reduced parental stress on the PSI and there were no changes in parent perception of parenting adequacy in either group. The one positive finding was on the HPAS with parents in the treatment group reporting significant improvements ($p < .005$) in their perception of causation of behavior (purposeful vs. developmental levels in the child) as well as an overall positive change in parenting attitudes ($p < .005$). The PSQ revealed that 75% of parents reported slight to very positive feelings about EBPP and 65% of parents found the strategies useful and techniques easy to implement. Pitts did use a more stringent alpha level ($p < .005$) due to the number of outcome measures used and she admitted that condensing the program into eight sessions left little time for parents to practice and truly master skills. In addition, measures were not taken to assure treatment integrity (Pitts, 2001).

Critique of *EBPP*. Some have criticized *EBPP* for not being sensitive enough to cultural values and that it may portray the target culture in a negative way (Gorman & Balter, 1997). Other criticisms could be that this program is very involved and covers a broad range of parenting skills that require intensive time commitment. Also, 3-hour sessions can be difficult to sit through and still maintain optimal motivation and attention. Learning may be enhanced if each session was shorter in length; perhaps 1 ½ or 2 hours would be appropriate. As evidenced with Pitts' (2001) study, parents may have

benefitted from additional sessions as well as more time to practice skills. Skills such as time-out, token economy, stress reduction, and effective praise techniques are reinforced with practice; often a one-time exposure is not sufficient to develop these skills to the level needed for consistent implementation. More research is needed before conclusions on the effectiveness of the *EBPP* for African American families can be made.

Programs for Latino Americans

Houston Parent-Child Development Center (*HP-CDC*)

The Houston Parent-Child Development Center was developed as a family support center as well as an alternative to Head Start for low-income children. The center offers broad-ranging services with multiple goal objectives and includes a parent training program that is culturally-specific for low-income Latino American parents. Training staff are bilingual and thus, able to offer training in Spanish or English. The primary aim of *HP-CDC* is to educate parents in order to promote children's competence in school; other goals include social skills and self-esteem development and behavior problems reduction. In essence, this program offers comprehensive services that seek to alleviate the effects of poverty while emphasizing the first 3 years of a child's life as an optimal time for mothers to learn to become effective teachers of their children (Johnson, 1990; Johnson & Breckenridge, 1982).

The *HP-CDC* parent training component emphasizes reasoning in discipline, verbal means to resolve conflict, rewarding positive behaviors, and consideration of developmental levels when relating to children. When developing the parent training

piece, the *HP-CDC* sought to serve Latino American families by considering salient cultural characteristics such as Spanish-language usage in the home, the primary role of the mother as homemaker, and the active involvement of the father in the home (Johnson & Breckenridge, 1982). Because parent education programs that require only a few hours of time commitment are not always effective (Johnson, 1990; Pitts, 2001), the *HP-CDC* program involves 550 hours of services that are delivered across two stages, one per year.

Johnson (1990) described a pilot study where participants were selected based on low-income and Latino ethnic group status as well as results of community surveys that indicated parental interest in long-term participation in the program. During the first year, frequent in-home visits were provided and family workshops, English as a Second Language (ESL) classes, and community services were offered. Paraprofessionals who were bilingual and from the host-culture, provided 25 one-and-a-half hour sessions in the home of the target family. Home sessions focused on offering supports to families with 1-year-old infants as well as teaching parents about child development and health and home safety (Johnson, 1990). Weekend sessions involved fathers and siblings in the program (Johnson & Breckenridge, 1982; Johnson & Walker, 1987).

In the second year, paraprofessionals and professionals continued services from the first year. The Parent Advisory Committee, which involved the participating parents, met to discuss relevant program issues and concerns. These parents further developed the program by agreeing to offer classes of interest that pertained to budgeting, sewing, nutrition, driver education, and human sexuality (Johnson, 1990). In addition, mothers and their children who had since turned 2 years old, received free transportation to the

center where they attended activities four mornings a week for 4 hours each and then lunch was provided. For part of each session, mothers participated with their children and for the other part, children attended a free nursery school at the center. During this second year, many topics that were introduced in the first year were reiterated and discussed in more depth and there was more emphasis on behavior management (Johnson; Johnson & Walker, 1987).

During the behavior management training sessions, researchers videotaped mothers with their 2-year-olds while they were teaching or implementing child management so that mothers could view themselves; other mothers also viewed the videos and offered feedback (Johnson & Walker, 1987). Also, mothers learned to teach from the same curriculum their children were learning in nursery school so that they might reinforce learning concepts and be effective teachers of their children at home (Johnson & Breckenridge, 1982).

HP-CDC research. The *HP-CDC* parent training project has been evaluated or reviewed in several studies (Andrews et al., 1982; Johnson, 1990; Johnson et al., 1974; Johnson & Breckenridge, 1982; Johnson & Walker, 1987; Johnson & Walker, 1991). Several cohorts have participated in the *HP-CDC* program and although not all evaluations have been published, Johnson (1990) offers a review of the various studies conducted. Andrews et al. (1982) reported end of program results for the first two cohorts and additional cohorts have been evaluated by Bridgeman, Blumenthal, and Andrews (1981, unpublished manuscript as cited in Johnson, 1990).

Between the years of 1970 and 1978, there were eight replications of the *HP-CDC*

study but not all results are published (Johnson, 1990). Although original research could not be located on the pilot study, Johnson (1990) describes it as well as the replications that were conducted. The pilot study had 100 low-income parents who were randomly assigned to treatment and control groups. These parents had typically developing 1-year-old children and were interested in participating for each of the 2 years. Data collection procedures involved presenting all outcome measures in the preferred language of the rater (Spanish or English) and measures were completed at intake and at the end of each program year. Follow-up measures were given to the first 4 cohorts when child-participants were in preschool and elementary grades 2 through 5 (Johnson; Johnson & Walker, 1991).

Overall, major findings from videotaped interactions between mothers and their children showed that mothers in the treatment groups demonstrated more affection and encouraged child verbalization more; they were also less critical (Johnson, 1990). A measure of the home as a learning environment (HOME Inventory; Caldwell, 1970) indicated mothers in the treatment group demonstrated more warmth and responsiveness to children as well as provided more educationally stimulating environments. Children in the treatment group obtained higher scores on the Stanford-Binet as well as the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills (ITBS; Johnson; Johnson & Walker, 1987; Johnson & Walker, 1991). The published studies provide more specific details but it is difficult to track the trajectory of the sample and therefore, it remains unclear whether the studies are based on the original sample or on new samples.

Johnson et al. (1974) reported on a study of 34 families in the treatment group and 22

families in the control group with 1-year-old children; however, only 17 families in each group completed post-test measures at the end of the second year. Pre- and post-test measures included the Bayley Scales of Infant Development, interviews with mothers, the HOME Inventory, the Maternal Interaction Structures Situation (MISS; Deschener, 1972 as cited in Johnson et al., 1974) that assesses mother-child interaction, and the Palmer Concept Familiarity Index. At post-test, children were also given the Stanford-Binet (Johnson et al.).

Results from the Johnson et al. (1974) study showed that at post-test, children in the treatment group had significantly higher scores than children in the control group on the Bayley Mental Development Index ($p < .01$). When children were 2 ½ years old, children in the treatment group had significantly higher scores than those in the control group on the Stanford-Binet ($p < .01$). Also, post-test results showed that children in the treatment group achieved significantly higher scores on the Palmer Concept Familiarity Index ($p < .05$) than did children in the control group. The MISS results showed that mothers in the treatment group granted more autonomy ($p < .004$) and were less intruding ($p < .001$) than mothers in the control group. Mothers in the treatment group were also warmer ($p < .001$) and more neutral ($p < .002$) on the affection dimension than were mothers in the control group. There were no statistically significant results at post-test on the HOME (Johnson et al., 1974).

Andrews et al. (1982) reported results when the children were 3 years of age and these analyses showed that mothers in the treatment group differed significantly from mothers in the control group ($p < .001$). Analyses of videotaped parent-child interaction using the

MISS, showed that mothers who had participated in the treatment group talked to their children more and elaborated more frequently on their child's verbalizations. Also, mothers in the treatment group demonstrated more affectionate interactions with their children ($p < .05$) than the mothers from the control group. On the HOME Inventory, mothers in the treatment group scored significantly higher than did mothers in the control group. This result indicated that, groups differed on parents from the treatment group providing more appropriate play materials for children ($p = .04$), more opportunity for variety in daily routines ($p = .002$), and more emotional responsiveness ($p = .02$; Andrews et al., 1982).

At first follow-up, conducted 1 to 4 years after the original study when children were in preschool, Johnson and Breckenridge (1982) used an adapted version of the Behavior Assessment Interview (BAI; MacFarlane, Allen, & Honzik, 1954) to conduct 1-hour interviews with mothers from the treatment and control groups. Results indicated that children from the treatment group had less externalizing behaviors than children from the control group, who were more destructive ($p < .001$) and extroverted ($p < .04$). In addition, boys from the control group were significantly more destructive ($p < .04$), resistant ($p < .04$), and dependent ($p < .04$) than girls from the control group.

Five to 8 years after the families completed the program, Johnson and Walker (1987) conducted a second follow-up with teachers, who were blind to participant group assignment. To assess school maladjustment, teachers completed a brief follow-up screener on all children called the AML (Cowen et al., 1973; A = aggressive and acting out; M = moody; and L = learning disabilities). Teachers were also asked to fill out the

Child Behavior Inventory (CBI; Schaefer & Edgerton, 1976), which is designed to assess both positive and negative classroom behavior. Results from the AML showed that children from the control group had significantly more acting-out problems ($p < .03$) and were more impulsive ($p < .004$), disruptive ($p < .001$), obstinate ($p < .020$), and restless ($p < .001$) than children from the treatment group. CBI results showed children in the treatment group to be more considerate and less hostile ($p < .02$). Girls in the treatment group were found to be more on-task and less distractible ($p < .001$) than girls in the control group. Through teacher interviews, it was discovered that four boys in the control group and one boy in the treatment group had been referred to special education for emotional or behavioral problems (Johnson & Walker, 1987).

A follow-up done in 1991 was conducted with children in second through fifth grades when they were 8 to 11 years of age. Results showed that children who had participated in the treatment group had achieved higher scores on the ITBS Composite score ($p < .02$) as well as on verbal scales of Vocabulary ($p < .01$), Language ($p < .02$), and Reading ($p < .02$) than did those from the control group. Teachers rated children from the treatment group lower on the CBI Hostility scale ($p < .006$) and they rated boys from the this group higher on the Dependency scale ($p < .04$) than boys from the control group (Johnson & Walker, 1991).

Critique of HP-CDC. The *HP-CDC* program seeks to meet broadly based goals that include providing supports for low income and Spanish-speaking families. Replication and follow-up procedures mainly focus on child outcomes and results are fairly consistent showing reductions in behavior problems as well as enhancing cognitive skills in children

(Johnson & Breckenridge, 1982). Unlike other parent training programs, *HP-CDC* requires a long-term commitment of 2 years for families and although this duration of services offers comprehensive training with ample amount of time to reestablish family interactive patterns, it may be too much of a demand to place on parents who are highly mobile and financially distressed. This may partly explain why attrition has been high in this program (Johnson & Breckenridge). Also, because the program covers such a variety of needs, it is difficult to determine exactly which piece(s) contribute to program effects.

Los Ninos Bien Educados

Los Ninos Bien Educados (Tannatt & Alvy, 1989) was developed by the Center for the Improvement of Child Caring (CICC) in Studio City, California. It is best summarized as a culturally adapted program that has some aspects of a culturally-specific program. It is adapted from the Confident Parenting program and is culturally-specific because it focuses on issues that are unique to Latino's experiences in the United States. There are twelve 3-hour sessions that can be taught with parent/leader manuals that are offered in either English or Spanish. There are ten sessions that focus on active, concrete problem-solving activities as well as the importance of family relationships (Gorman & Balter, 1997). The first session allows parents to specify target behaviors they want to work on with their children. Sessions 2 through 8 teach parents topics related to age-appropriate expectations, adjusting to the culture of the United States, and childrearing practices (e.g., teaching children expectations, using praise and effective discipline strategies). The final two sessions are for review, discussion, and graduation.

The program was originally developed with two Latino parent groups. The first group

consisted of lower- and working-class parents with the majority having lived in the United States for 6 years. This group had mixed levels of education and language and most chose to be interviewed in Spanish. The second group consisted of middle-class parents and the majority had been born in the United States. Over 50% had completed various levels of college and were bilingual; nearly all chose to be interviewed in English (Alvy, 1994). Both groups held overlapping views on most values regarding children but the degrees to which they felt values were important differed. There were major differences in values concerning discipline and childrearing and these values were used in determining program content.

Los Ninos Bien Educados research and critique. No empirical research on this program was located. The program was developed with Latino parents and has a bilingual emphasis. The lack of research makes it impossible to evaluate the efficacy of this program.

Mercedes Independent School District (MISD)

Mercedes Independent School District in Mercedes, Texas, offered a parent training program addressing three main areas across twelve sessions. The majority of participants in this bicultural and bilingual program were low-income Spanish speaking mothers. The three topics addressed *La Familia y el Respeto* (Respect and the Family), Ways to Discipline Children, and Family Roles and Relationships. Parents learned discipline techniques that included listening, rewarding, setting limits, and punishment. Parents also learned more about developmental levels, helping children with schoolwork, and increasing self-concept in their children. Program features included free childcare,

transportation and refreshments as well as a banquet where a certificate of completion was awarded (Leal, 1986).

MISD research and critique. In a study on the *MISD* program, Spanish-speaking parents from nine school districts were chosen to participate (Leal, 1986). Sixty-seven nonparticipants and 210 participants were selected based on economic disadvantage and if they had children who were receiving special education services. Eligible parents were randomly assigned to participant and nonparticipant groups and all parents participated in a focused interview and completed a questionnaire. Changes in parents' affectionate feelings for children was assessed by having participants and nonparticipants rate from 1-4 (1=much more than before; 4=not as much as before) questions such as "The affection I now feel for my children is..." To assess changes in discipline, parents answered questions such as "I learned new ways to discipline my child" by rating the question on a scale of 1-4 (1=very much; 4=not at all). Results indicated that when compared to parents in the control group, parents in the treatment group reported more affectionate feelings for children and reported using better discipline strategies that led to improved child behavior. Although statistical significance was not reported for changes in affection, significant changes in discipline were noted between the treatment and control groups ($p < .0001$), however, no specific details on how discipline improved were discussed (Leal).

In summary, the *MISD* program showed that parents who participated in training reported more affectionate feelings for their children. These parents also reported using better discipline strategies that led to improved child behaviors. Changes in parental use of affection and discipline were measured with a self-report measure that was based

mainly on a survey. Although the answers to the specific survey questions provided qualitative data that was subjective and based on parent perception of how the program helped, it is still difficult to evaluate the program. No further research has been located on this project but additional research that utilizes more standardized or research-based evaluation measures might provide more in-depth analysis of the program effects and perhaps which components are particularly useful to improve child behavior and discipline strategies. Based on Leal's (1986) results, it is difficult to tell what contributed to changes in child behaviors as well as what specific discipline strategies improved.

Programs for Native Americans

Positive Indian Parenting (PIP)

In the mid-1980s, the Northwest Indian Child Welfare Institute (1986) developed *Positive Indian Parenting: Honoring Our Children by Honoring Our Traditions*. Tribal elders, Indian professionals, and Indian parents were consulted to develop this culturally-specific program (Alvy, 1994). Because *PIP* incorporates traditional American Indian childrearing practices and is based on Native philosophies, it is likely that the skills taught are culturally appropriate. It consists of eight sessions that focus on three general principles: storytelling, the spiritual value of children and childrearing, and the extended family (Gorman & Balter, 1997).

Parents are given a historical explanation of the use of these three principles in order to impart reclamation of traditional ways. It is asserted that through boarding schools, cultural traditions were eradicated; white influence interfered with the "old ways" and the "spare the rod and spoil the child" belief became imposed. However, *PIP* seeks to

abolish this imposition and a manual is provided that trains instructors and explains the philosophy. Parents are taught specific traditional parenting skills as well as modern skills; however, much more guidance is provided for traditional skills. Storytelling is explained as an oral tradition that was used to teach children how to relate to other people and the environment; listening, observation, and nonverbal communication are key. The spiritual belief that children are gifts from the Creator emphasizes the use of loving and positive relationships between parents and children that is based on mutual respect. Praise and reassurance is necessary for children to establish tribal identity. Socialization by the extended family involves community and the rules or limits that it values. Nurturing is key and specific extended family members play various nurturing roles (Alvy, 1994).

Session 1, *Traditional Parenting*, contrasts traditional American Indian childrearing with changes that the "Western world" has brought. Session 2, *Lessons of the Storyteller*, focuses on using storytelling to teach moral lessons, values, and proper behavior, and to produce quality time with children. Session 3, *Lessons of the Cradleboard*, addresses child development and Session 4, *Harmony in Childrearing*, relays to parents the importance of encouraging cooperation and sharing among family members. Session 5, *Traditional Behavioral Management*, discusses shame, loss of adult attention, and natural consequences as discipline strategies for misbehavior. Session 6, *Lessons of Mother Nature*, encourages parents to promote responsibility, self-awareness, and spirituality in families by using lessons from nature. Session 7, *Praise in Traditional Parenting*, addresses acceptance and warmth toward the child and using specific praise to enhance a child's self-esteem. Session 8, *Choices in Parenting*, discusses difficult issues American

Indian parents face such as poverty, alcoholism, and single parenting and parents set new parenting goals (Northwest Indian Child Welfare Institute, 1986).

PIP research and critique. No research was located on this program but Alvy (1994) describes the program as being culturally-specific because it incorporates many Native American values. However, individual tribes vary and although the three general concepts may apply, specific practices may not.

Bigfoot's program proposal.

Bigfoot (1989) asserted that the typical parenting programs are often inappropriate for Native Americans because they assume participants will be highly verbal, able to read well, and willing to be open about family conflict. This style of training is less preferred by the nonverbal, non-confrontative, and noninterfering Native American. To respond to the need to develop a parent training program that incorporated specific Native American values, Bigfoot proposed a six-session parent training program that covers three traditional concepts regarding childrearing and is appropriate for parents with children ages 6 through 12.

The first concept is *Honoring Children* and this includes topics of praising good behavior, consistently responding to misbehavior by praising an alternative behavior, ignoring, and removal from potentially reinforcing stimuli. The second concept is *Talking Circle*, which teaches families to organize a family council where they can come together and discuss issues and decisions in a respectful way so that each family member has equal input. The third concept is *Storytelling*, where family members take special time together to interact by sharing knowledge and listening to one another. Stories can

be used to teach and to explain family history or daily situations; they can also be used as a reward, for a special activity, or just to spend more family time together. Although this program was simply a proposal and the author did not pilot test or carry out any research on the program, it may be a good start for future research. A literature search indicated there has been no further development or evaluation of this proposed program.

Adlerian Programs.

Nystul (1982) noted that many Navajos near the Four Corners area, share 10 core Adlerian parent-child principles and he incorporated them into the Systematic Training for Effective Parenting (STEP) program (Dinkmeyer & McKay, 1976). Principles of the STEP program focus on cooperation and positive relationships in the family and independence and self-confidence in children (Alvy, 1994). The ten core principles include: (1) give your child opportunities to contribute, (2) be patient and understand your child, (3) encourage your child, (4) avoid conditional love, (5) believe in your child, (6) encourage your child to have friends, (7) have physical contact with your child, (8) promote physical health within your child, (9) help your child feel safe, and (10) help your child with self-actualizing needs (Nystul, 1982).

Research and Critique. No research was found on Nystul's work. Although Nystul (1982) claims that he incorporated these 10 principles as the core elements in a parent education program, it is difficult to determine how he conveyed them to parents. Instead of describing the program in detail and who the target group or participants were, Nystul explains how he and three Navajo assistants presented the parenting skills program at a high school. This presentation included the 10 core principles followed by the STEP

program and then two filmstrips were shown to help students clarify values for dating and preparation for parenthood (Nystul, 1982). Incomplete program description leaves ambiguous procedures about how he actually conducted parent training, or whether parent training rather than group education was conducted. Therefore, the program cannot be effectively evaluated.

Culturally Modified Programs with Multi-Ethnic Participants

The programs reviewed above were all designed specifically for parents of diverse backgrounds. In addition to these culturally specific programs, a number of parenting programs have utilized participants from diverse cultural backgrounds. Most of these tend to simply offer a translation of a curriculum in the host's native language (Canning & Fantuzzo, 2000). Although this is an important accommodation, it does not entirely address the issue of whether or not cultural values need to be integrated into parent training. As discussed in the review of the literature, a common theme is that the values of the host must be incorporated into parent training and this may be more important for families that adhere to more traditional cultural values or who are more convinced that certain parenting practices are worthwhile.

This section discusses parent training programs that were not originally tailored to any identified cultural target group. Rather, these programs have likely been first utilized with Caucasian participants and then later diversified to accommodate the needs of different cultural groups. The programs include the *STAR Parenting Program*, the *SOS! Help for Parents Program*, and the *Strengthening Families Program*. The *Strengthening Families Program* is also discussed by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency

Prevention (OJJDP) in their review of 25 different types of programs that focused on a range of child and family issues. Although the OJJDP does not categorize the *SFP* as a parent training program and instead, classifies this program as a family skills training program (Kumpfer & Alvarado, 1998), this program is appropriately reviewed in this paper because it has a component that has been culturally adapted to address parent-child behavior management with African Americans. In addition to the review of the *SFP* by the OJJDP, other parent training programs that involve culturally diverse populations and were reviewed by the OJJDP will be discussed below.

STAR Parenting Program.

The *STAR Parenting Program* (Fox & Fox, 1990 as cited in Fox & Parroni-Hennick, 1996) was originally developed for Caucasian middle-class families with children ages 1 to 5 years old and has been shown to be effective with Caucasian parents in decreasing child misbehavior and corporal and verbal punishment as well as increasing parental nurturing and age-appropriate expectations (Fox & Parroni-Hennick; Nicholson, Janz, & Fox, 1998). This program focuses on behavior management principles and education on developmental expectations as well as parent-child relationship dynamics. It teaches parents to give clear behavioral descriptions of desired behavior, and to use positive reinforcement, redirection, planned ignoring, and time-out. Program content is usually offered in 10 hours with groups of 6-12 parents.

A study utilized the *STAR Parenting Program* and modified it by offering it in Mexico, employing a trained facilitator from the same culture who spoke the same language, and employing a researcher involved in the project who lived in Mexico to

monitor the program (Solis-Camara, Fox, & Nicholson, 2000). This study evaluated the program in a sample of 82 middle-class mothers living in Mexico. A total of 63 middle-class Caucasian, African American, Latino American, and Asian American mothers from the United States were also included. Parents were solicited to participate through public advertisements that were distributed to schools, child care centers, and community agencies. At pre- and post-test, parents completed the Parent Behavior Checklist (PBC-short version; Fox, 1994) that uses three subscales (nurturing, discipline, expectations) to measure parenting behaviors and expectations. Parents also completed the Behavior Screening Questionnaire (BSQ; Richman & Graham, 1971) to assess behavior problems in young children (Solis-Camara et al., 2000).

Program effects were analyzed using a 2 group (Mexican, American) x 2 time (pretest, post-test) repeated-measures MANOVA. A significant time effect ($p < .001$) was found as well as a significant group x time interaction effect ($p < .001$). Results using univariate F-tests indicated all mothers had significant changes between pre- and post-test on nurturing ($p < .001$), discipline ($p < .001$), and expectations ($p = .038$). Although both groups of mothers showed changes over time, Mexican mothers showed a greater reduction in discipline ($p < .001$) with decreased use of verbal and corporal punishment. Mexican mothers also showed a greater increase in nurturing ($p < .002$) compared to American mothers (results for American mothers were not separated by ethnic group). On the BSQ, all mothers reported less child misbehavior with a significant time effect ($p < .001$) but there was not a significant group x time interaction effect. Children were reported to have fewer problem behaviors from pre- to post-test (Solis-Camara et al., 2000).

Although the modifications Solis-Camara et al. (2000) made to this program for the parents in Mexico are not explained in any detail and it is not clear if the curriculum was altered or not, the results show effectiveness of the *STAR Parenting Program* for culturally mixed America-born and dwelling mothers and Mexico-born and dwelling Latino mothers.

The *STAR* program was evaluated in another study (Brenner, Nicholson, & Fox, 1999) and included a sample of parents who were from mixed ethnic backgrounds and SES levels (47% middle- to upper-class, 23% middle- to lower-class, and 20% lower-class) and ethnic backgrounds. The participants were mainly African American ($n=66$) and Caucasian American ($n=65$) participants, but some Latino American ($n=8$), Native American ($n=1$), and Asian American ($n=3$) participants were also included. With no control group, pre- and post-measures that all parents completed included the PBC (short version) and the BSQ and these same measures were given at a two-month follow-up. Sixty-one percent of the original participants completed the program and 51% of these parents were available at follow-up (Brenner et al., 1999).

To measure changes on the PBC and BSQ, repeated MANOVAs were computed. Results indicated that parents who completed the program showed significant overall improvements on the PBC from pre- to post- test ($p < .001$). At post-test, results indicated significant univariate effects for discipline ($p < .001$); specifically the researchers noted that parents used less verbal and corporal punishment at post-test. For nurturing parents showed improvement ($p < .001$), and children showed reductions in problematic child ($p < .001$); however, there were no significant changes in Expectations ($p > .15$). At follow-up, nurturing improvements had maintained ($p < .01$) while there

were significant increases on the Expectations subscale ($p < .001$). Discipline scores that had significantly reduced at post-test had returned to pre-test levels at follow-up.

However, at follow-up, parents reported significant reductions in behavior problems ($p < .001$; Brenner et al., 1999).

In this study, Brenner et al. (1999) did not separately analyze the data according to ethnic group or SES. In addition, there was no control group. The authors explain some reasoning for why follow-up discipline scores reverted to pre-test levels; the follow-up sample was “qualitatively different” from other groups in the study and at all three assessment times, they used considerably less verbal and corporal discipline. The fact that the follow-up group was somehow different than comparison groups indicates that perhaps it was not the best comparison group and a control group would have been beneficial in these analyses. The follow-up group tended to use less discipline overall, but they did show improvements after training that were not maintained long-term.

One other study employed the *STAR Parenting Program* with a sample of low SES parents from mixed ethnic groups, but the majority were African American (Anderson, 1999). The treatment group (9 African Americans, 2 Caucasian Americans, 1 Latino American, and 1 parent classified as “other”) and the control group (5 African Americans, 2 Caucasian Americans, 5 Latino Americans, and 1 Asian American) took pre- and post-tests that included the PBC, the Parent Stress Index, the Brief Anger Aggression Questionnaire (BAAQ), the BSQ, the Pediatric Symptom Checklist (PSC), and the ECBI. Teachers completed the Sutter-Eyberg Behavior Inventory (SEBI: Sutter & Eyberg, 1984) and the Pediatric Symptom Index at pre- and post-test (Anderson, 1999).

On the PBC, there was a significant group x time interaction effect with significant

differences between the treatment and control groups. Specifically, parents in the treatment group showed decreases in inappropriate discipline ($p < .001$). Significant reductions in negative parent-child interactions ($p < .01$) and decreased parental perceptions of the child being difficult ($p = .001$) were noted on the PSI. On the BAAQ, parents in the treatment group reported reduced levels of anger and aggression ($p < .05$). Anderson (1999) reported overall significant decreases on the BSQ ($p < .001$) with parents reporting significant decreases in their perception of negative or externalizing child behavior. Anderson also noted reductions in treatment group parents perception of difficult child behaviors ($p < .001$). There were also significant overall effects on the PSC ($p < .05$) for the children in the treatment group and parents reported significant decreases in externalizing behaviors in their children ($p < .001$). To evaluate differences between the treatment and control group between pre- and post-test conditions on the ECBI, a repeated measure MANOVA was performed. Results indicated that the treatment group did not show an overall significant interaction over the control group ($p = .08$). Many results were maintained at follow-up, but reductions in parental perception of their child's negative and externalizing behaviors did not maintain. Measures completed by teachers indicated no significant changes from pre- to post-test or follow-up (Anderson, 1999). Anderson used a small sample of participants that were fairly homogenous and thus, the results are less able to generalize.

SOS! Help for Parents Program.

SOS! Help for Parents Program (Clark, 1985) utilizes video vignettes and group discussion to teach parents to define child misbehavior according to developmental level, reinforce positive behavior, and use mild punishment for inappropriate behavior. Parent books are available in English and in Spanish; the Spanish version is titled, *SOS! Ayuda Para Padres*.

Low SES African American and Latino American parents with conduct-problem children participated in the 5-week program. One wait-list control group (n=7) and two treatment groups, a clinical (n=7) and a nonclinical (n=13) group as indicated on the Conners' Parent Rating Scale-Revised (CPRS-R; Conners, 1997) were formed. Pre- and post-measures to assess program effects included the CBCL, the CPRS, and the Parent Attitude Survey. ANCOVA analyses showed there were no significant pre-post differences between any of the groups (Tulloch, 1997).

The author explored reasons for limited program effectiveness and postulated it was, in part, due to assessments not being normed on ethnically diverse groups. Also, the sample size of 27 was also small and there was attrition due to lack of childcare and conflicting schedules (Tulloch, 1997). Other speculations were that some of the parents indicated incongruence in identifying with program content. Parents commented that the Caucasian parents presented in the videos encouraged disrespect and misbehavior by being too "soft" on the child who modeled inappropriate behavior. Also, extended family members were not incorporated in training and thus, they may have sabotaged the new techniques (Tulloch).

Strengthening Families Program (SFP).

Although the *Strengthening Families Program* (Kumpfer, DeMarsh, & Child, 1989) is not categorized as a parent training program and its primary focus has been substance abuse and delinquency prevention, this comprehensive family program contains three separate components that address parent management of child behavior, parenting skills, and child skills. Identified as a "family skills training" by the OJJDP, the *SFP* is separated into two versions: one for families with elementary-aged school children and the other for families with middle school or junior high school students.

The child skills training component is based on the Spivack and Shure's (1979) social skill training. The family skills training component focuses on teaching parents the Child's Game (Forehand & McMahon, 1981), which is a structured play session where parents follow their child's lead and interact with their child in a non-demanding, positive way. The *SFP* parent training component is based on Patterson's (1975, 1976) parent training model and goals include teaching parents to increase attention and reinforcement for positive child behaviors and to make compliance requests. Parents also learn techniques such as ignoring, time-out, and overcorrection for negative child behaviors. Other issues addressed in the parent training component included problem solving, positive communication, and alcohol and drug education (Kumpfer, Molgaard, & Spoth, 1996).

The *SFP* has been translated into different languages and has been researched with low-income African American, Asian American, Pacific Islander, Latino American, Native American and French Canadian parents (Kumpfer et al., 1996). Culturally sensitive professionals are employed to improve program development, implementation,

evaluation, and interpretation of program results. Focus and pilot groups from the culture of the target group consult programmers regarding appropriate locations, incentives, and referring agencies and program content is translated into the participants native language (Kumpfer et al.). Despite these adaptations, the only published *SFP* research studies that were culturally adapted and that could be located were with African American families.

The *SFP* has been adapted for African American participants by including African American narrators and actors in videotapes and other forms of media that are used to impart training components. Other adaptations include employing African American community members as program facilitators. Also, training materials and manuals display culturally appropriate artwork and refer to the project as *Harambee*, a Swahili word that means "pulling together." Another adaptation involves utilizing an active learning style when conducting child skills components; this involves group discussion and projects as well as role playing (Spoth, Guyll, Chao, & Molgaard, 2003).

In a study involving the *SFP*, 110 African American participants attended training sessions but only 85 participated to the extent where they could provide sufficient data that could be included in the outcome analyses. In this sample of low-income African American parents with children aged 10-14, repeated measures ANOVAs were used to evaluate differences between randomly assigned *SFP* treatment ($n=34$) and wait-list control ($n=51$) groups on variables regarding program goals. Significant group x time interaction effects were found on variables including: child participation in family meetings ($p < .02$), as measured by caregiver reports, and intervention-targeted child behaviors ($p < .004$), as measured by the Child Behavior Scale. Children in the treatment

group increased their participation in family meetings and demonstrated a decrease in problem behaviors. Wait-list control groups did not show significant changes over time on these variables (Spoth et al., 2003).

Other *SFP* research with African American participants who struggle with substance abuse indicated reduced family conflict on the Family Environment Scale (FES; Moos, 1974) as well as decreased child internalizing and externalizing behavior problems on the CBCL (Kumpfer, Platt, & Hoke, 1989, unpublished manuscript as cited in Kumpfer et al., 1996). Another study that included African American parents with substance abuse problems (Kumpfer, Bridges, & Williams, 1993, unpublished manuscript as cited in Kumpfer et al., 1996) found that parents reported increased family cohesion, more family time spent together, and decreased family conflict as measured by the FES. On the CBCL, parents reported reductions in child externalizing and internalizing problems. Because these two studies are not published and one must rely on the review of these studies provided by Kumpfer et al. (1996), the program's effectiveness with African American families is difficult to evaluate.

Another unpublished *SFP* study that was included in the review by Kumpfer et al. (1996), indicates positive effects when the *SFP* parent training and child skills training components were implemented for families with Asian (26%), Pacific Islander (20%), Latino (18%), and Native American (5%) children. In this study, pre- and post-evaluation measures as well as program content were translated into each cultural group's primary language. Results for the treatment group indicated improvements in family cohesion, family conflict, and parenting behaviors, as measured by the FES. Also, CBCL results

showed improvements in all areas of problematic child behavior. The control group showed positive changes as well but they were less pronounced (no further details were offered and the original study could not be located as it is unpublished). Kumpfer et al. reported that five years later, a follow-up found long-term positive results with many families using skills learned in the training and families reported enduring improvements in both family and child behaviors. However, these reports are based on an unpublished study (Harrison, Proskauer, & Kumpfer, 1995, unpublished manuscript as cited in Kumpfer et al., 1996) and the details as to which group, treatment or control, showed the long-term effects is not specified.

The *SFP* has been reviewed by the OJJDP as an effective cross-cultural program for parents but this organization has also offered brief descriptions of other promising programs. In their review, the OJJDP offers a brief description of different types of programs that include family therapy programs, family skills training programs, family in-home support programs, comprehensive programs, and parent training programs. Of these 25 programs, 12 were classified as parent training programs and of these 12, five programs claimed to consider culture in their training. The *Effective Black Parenting Program* (previously discussed) was the only program listed of the five programs that focuses directly on affecting the parent-child relationship through increasing compliant behaviors and decreasing noncompliant behaviors.

Although the OJJDP categorized the other four programs as parent training programs, they did not have a main focus on parent training and focused instead on teaching social skills to children, preventing violence, helping parents learn to manage anger and stress,

and educating parents on general issues related to being a parent. However, some did have a behavior management component but it was mainly for one session only. The other four programs mentioned by OJJDP were *Strengthening Multi-Ethnic Families and Communities*; *I Can Problem Solve (ICPS)*; *Multicultural Experience in Leadership and Development (MELD)*; and *Make Parenting a Pleasure*. They will be briefly reviewed below.

I Can Problem Solve.

The *I Can Problem Solve (ICPS)* program (Spivak & Shure, 1979), also known as the *Interpersonal Cognitive Problem Solving* training program, uses social skills training to decrease impulsive behavior as well as excessive inhibition in children, beginning as early as preschool age. There is a teacher training component as well as a parent training component, but the training is mainly a child-focused approach that seeks to assist children with learning to generate alternative solutions to problems and to consider possible consequences of behavior before acting (Shure, 1993; Shure & Spivak, 1982; Spivak & Shure, 1989). Children learn to reason, label emotions, take the perspective of another, gain empathy and sensitivity, and engage in causal thinking that is connected to values and feelings (Spivak & Shure, 1989). Although not a parent training program that has primary effects on the parent-child relationship, the *ICPS* may complement behavioral parent training for children with impulse control problems. Research on the *ICPS* program with low-income African American mothers has shown that parents were able to train children to engage in problem solving thinking that helped reduce impulsive

behaviors and these effects generalized to the classroom setting (Shure).

Unlike *ICPS*, the last three programs discussed each have a behavioral management component. One program, *Strengthening Multi-Ethnic Families and Communities*, is specifically designed for parents from culturally diverse backgrounds but there is no available research to evaluate its effectiveness. Like *Strengthening Multi-Ethnic Families and Communities*, there is not research that validates the cross-cultural effectiveness of the other two programs, *Make Parenting A Pleasure*, and the *Minnesota Early Learning Design* project. Also, it is not apparent that these other two programs are specific or even adapted to diverse cultural groups even though OJJDP listed this criteria as a component of these programs.

Strengthening Multi-Ethnic Families and Communities.

Although materials for *The Strengthening Multi-Ethnic Families and Communities* (Steele, 1991) were developed so they could be presented within a cultural framework that suited parents from diverse ethnic backgrounds, the program was originally designed as a violence prevention program rather than a parent training program. However, it does have a component related to positive discipline. The general topics of the this program relate to cultural/spiritual issues; rite of passage (transitioning through areas of child development); enhancing relationships; positive discipline; and linking parents to a variety of resources through community involvement. Although there are several training sites across the United States, no research on program effectiveness could be located.

Make Parenting a Pleasure.

Make Parenting a Pleasure (MPAP), was identified by OJJDP as a parent training program that has considered culturally diverse families, but the only research that could be located on this program (Bamba, 2001) involved a majority of Caucasian participants (94%) and therefore, the results will not be discussed. This program stems from the Birth to Three project and seeks to provide parent education for high-stress, low-income parents of children ages 0-7. The curricula includes psychoeducation and videotaped modeling of parent-child interactions that mainly targets managing parental stress and anger and learning communication skills. There is a small component to this program that addresses discipline strategies involving setting limits, rewarding positive behavior, and providing appropriate consequences.

Like *MPAP*, The *Minnesota Early Learning Design (MELD)* project (Ellwood, 1988) is a family-support program that seeks to support and educate parents. Parents learn from each other in self-help groups that begin during a mother's pregnancy and continues for 2 years. Experienced parents with over 60 hours of *MELD* training become facilitators. The *MELD* curriculum addresses issues related to child development and guidance, child health, parent development, and family management. Although the curriculum is well defined, parents in any particular group are allowed to set an agenda that fits the needs of the group. No outcome or evaluation studies could be located, nor was it clear how or if the program considered culture. However, one review of the program indicated that 65% of parents who became involved had not spanked their children by 2 years of age. The rest of the results in this report involved areas unrelated to parent training such as the

percentage of mothers who received well-baby checkups, used car seats, and had updated immunizations (Ellwood).

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Numerous research studies show empirical support for the effectiveness of parent training. However, risk factors including single parenthood, low parent education, poverty, and social isolation can potentially increase parenting stress and reduce participation or follow through. Such parental stressors as well as adverse circumstances such as marital discord, parental psychopathology, and parental substance abuse can interfere with program efficacy (Dumas & Albin, 1986; Webster-Stratton, 1997). In addition to these external conditions, intervention may be less effective when the internal structure of parenting programs does not consider culturally-specific characteristics (Baumrind, 1995). When levels of acculturation as well as cultural values are considered, barriers to service utilization are improved (Futa, et. al., 2001; Hayes, 1997; Herring, 1997b; Marin & Marin, 1991; Paniagua, 1994).

Designing and choosing a culturally appropriate parenting program requires ethnic knowledge and respect for the culture in mind. Program content should be culturally informed and educators should strive to accept and accommodate differences while focusing on family strengths (Burgess, 1980; Slaughter, 1988; Cervantes & Pena, 1998; Miller, 1997). There is an ethical consensus that professionals who work with culturally diverse families should be familiar with the characteristics of the target culture and sensitive to their needs so that inappropriate values are not imposed. They should seek out information regarding cultural practices of each individual family and should not

assume homogeneity in any particular group.

Becoming culturally competent involves immersing oneself in the culture. This can be done by reading literature or newspapers or listening to radio stations or watching television stations that appeal to a specified cultural group (Draper, 1979 as cited in Atkinson, 1997). One can also participate in culturally diverse communities and events (Priest, 1991). Being cross-culturally competent means the professional is able to value diversity yet still remember heterogeneity and the professional focuses on the specific individual in the context of cultural history (Armenta, 1993; McCollum, 1997; Todisco & Salomone, 1991). Ideally, professionals should be bicultural; they should have a working knowledge of the history, values, norms, language, nonverbal behavior, family structure, and environmental factors that can affect a family. Being bilingual is also ideal, but this is harder to achieve (Cervantes & Pena, 1998; Murase, 1992).

The last section of this paper will discuss various barriers to program efficacy as well as literature-based recommendations of how to alleviate them so that services to families of culturally diverse backgrounds can be improved. Broad recommendations and barriers that are predicted to generalize to the majority of ethnically and culturally diverse families will be discussed. More explicit recommendations that might specifically apply to families from African American, Asian American, Latino American, or Native American backgrounds will be offered as well. Although these recommendations, even the more culturally specific ones, are offered in general terms, it is important to remain open to possibilities of within- and between-group differences.

Literature-Based Recommendations to Increase Efficacy

In the past, researchers have often assumed that if parenting programs were not effective, it was because parents did not follow through (Johnson, 1990). However, by maintaining a family focus that encompasses environmental conditions, alternative reasons can be considered for program failure (Herrick & Brown, 1998). One issue involves the idea that parent educators convey messages of inadequacy to parents and this can create resistance in parents (Weikart, 1980). Parent training programs may propose parenting strategies that are foreign or culturally incongruent and the parent is likely to feel disconnected or deficient (Atkinson, 1997). When a parent feels incompetent, feelings of powerlessness undermine the ability to effectively parent and this can create dependence upon the professional (Hess, 1980).

Because there are numerous manifestations of parent-child interactions, it is important for educators to relay information in a bi-directional way that does not assume right or wrong solutions (Weikart, 1980). Rather than imposing solutions, it may be necessary for professionals to maintain a pluralistic view and then to simply make suggestions (Hanson, 1992b). Although Weikart (1980) recommends that parents should be treated as equals, it is important to first check with the family and then comply with cultural expectations regarding people with authority, such as the parent training professional.

When possible, families should be treated as cultural experts and should be encouraged to collaborate in training (Atkinson, 1997; Canning & Fantuzzo, 2000; Halpern, 1990; Herring, 1997a; Herring, 1997b; Jarrett, 1995; LaFromboise et al., 1990;

Rueda & Martinez, 1992). Goals should be shared between parent and educator instead of prescribed and instructional styles need to be ethnically compatible with learning styles (Bernal, Bonilla, & Bellido, 1995; McGrogan, 1998; Slaughter, 1988). Before training begins, it is a good idea to assess what the family would like to achieve as well as what their childrearing beliefs are (Hanson, 1992b; Larrabee, 1986). It may be that in addition to or instead of parent training, a parent would welcome information and resources regarding alternative or additional services such as other types of mental health services and information regarding community and state resources (Alvy, 1987).

Variables related to program development, content, and implementation.

Cultural insiders and focus groups. When developing and implementing parenting programs, it may be helpful to employ community liaisons—members of the host-community or graduates of the program to allow greater understanding between parent and educator because it employs the perspective of a “cultural insider” (APA, 2003; Dumka, Garza, Roosa, & Stoerzinger, 1997; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). This insider may be a church official or indigenous healer and is likely to give credibility to a program by recommending it to families who value the insider’s opinion (Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Futa et al., 2001; Herrick & Brown, 1998; LaFromboise & Jackson, 1996; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project). Focus groups have also been found to be helpful in generating information about specifics for working with families within a cultural context (Atkinson, 1997; Futa et al.; Gross, 2001; Hughes & DuMont, 1993; Krueger, 1994).

Facilitator and trainer characteristics and qualifications. Although it may not be necessary for program success (Anderson & Ellis, 1995; Alvy, 1987), parent training participants may prefer to be in a group with participants and trainers from similar cultural backgrounds (Andrews et al., 1982; Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Dufrene & Coleman, 1994; Sattler, 1977; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990; Willis, 1992). Because ethnically diverse professionals are under-represented in fields related to psychology such as parent training, this cultural match may be difficult to achieve; however, it may facilitate more participant involvement as well as more accurate interpretation of the client's perspective (APA, 2003; Block, 1981; Ford, 1996; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). When a cultural match between parent-trainer and participant cannot be attained, professionals may do well to focus on first being a student of the client's culture and then a parent trainer (Garrett & Garrett, 1994). The facilitator should spend considerable time building rapport and trust (Anderson & Ellis; Block; Herring, 1997a; Larrabee, 1986; McAdoo, 1981). It may be beneficial for the trainer to model self-disclosure and a discussion of racial differences may be relevant (Block; Garrett & Garrett; Lee, 1996; Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982).

At the very least, trainers need to select research-based or otherwise success-based interventions and to do this, they should be familiar with culturally-congruent research as well as the community and common life of target group members (Cervantes & Pena, 1998). *Multicultural Experience in Leadership and Development (MELD)* is a program that seeks to build cross-cultural competence in professionals or facilitators who are interested in developing this area of expertise further (Alvarez & Cabbil, 2001). Also, the

American Psychological Association (2003) has recently published the *Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists* to help guide professionals when working with families of culturally diverse backgrounds. APA also recommends that professionals become knowledgeable about the *Guidelines for Research in Ethnic Minority Communities* (Council of National Psychological Associations for the Advancement of Ethnic Minority Interests, 2000). Those interested in becoming more culturally-centered in their work with diverse families may also benefit from reading material from Cross, Bazron, Dennis, and Issacs (1989).

In addition to having a trainer who is culturally competent, parents may prefer a trained facilitator who has raised children. Some groups have felt this adds credibility to the trainer and may even be more important than being from the same ethnic group (Atkinson, 1997; Leal, 1986; Miller, 1997; Powell, Zambrana, & Silva-Palacios, 1990; Rowland & Wampler, 1983). It may be helpful to have both male and female parent trainers (Zegarra, 1998). Having a male trainer can provide positive modeling for fathers who want to become involved (Levine, Murphy, & Wilson, 1993; Powell, 1995). Though male models are a good idea, some cultures may not be comfortable with having a male staff member if the majority of the participants are women. A male trainer could potentially cause problems in highly traditional families, such as many Latino American families, because a non-attending father may not approve of his wife having contact with another man (Levine et al., 1993).

Language and literacy. Program content should be in the family's native language and staff members who are proficient in the host's language are essential (Armenta, 1993;

Johnson, 1990; Lum, 1992; Zegarra, 1998). Training and written materials should be offered in the family's native language and this needs to be more than a mechanical translation; culturally appropriate and culturally syntonetic language should be used so that the true message is conveyed (Bernal et al., 1995; Johnson). Lessons should contain culturally relevant examples that are sensitive to a range of values and the training room can be decorated with bias- and taboo-free objects and symbols from the families' culture (Bernal et al.; Herring, 1997b; Lum; Pinkston & Smith, 1998; McGrogan, 1998; Yung & Hammond, 1998).

In order to accommodate levels of literacy, the program should minimize the focus on reading materials and information should be concrete, simple, meaningful, and practical (McAdoo, 1991; McGrogan, 1998; Rueda & Martinez, 1992; Spiwak, 1982). It is also recommended that various forms of media be utilized, including written, verbal, visual, and hands-on experiences that are activity oriented; a good mix of ethnically diverse characters should be represented in such media (Bernal et al., 1995; Leal, 1986; Tulloch, 1997). Facilitators can guide parents through activities that require writing or reading skills by reviewing and reading materials as a group and they can utilize videos that depict modeling and role-playing of skills (McGrogan; Rueda & Martinez).

Parent support groups and including fathers. Some speculate that parent support groups are helpful in developing a cohesive group that supports each other in finishing and continuing training and there has been some evidence to support this (Hess, 1980; Miller, 1997; Fagan & Stevenson, 1995; Dumka et al., 1997; Shapiro & Simonsen, 1994). Allowing participants to meet each other and intermingle before training begins may

facilitate deeper discussions during sessions and may also contribute to a cohesive bond that might reduce attrition (Atkinson, 1997; Powell et al., 1990).

Although there are studies that show that a father's involvement is not necessary for positive child outcomes, some propose that when possible, fathers are important to include in training and support groups (Falicov, 1982; Levine et al., 1993; Leal, 1986; McAdoo, 1991; Price-Bonham & Skeen, 1979; Zegarra, 1998). A study identified salient issues for African American fathers in a self-help parenting group called *Men as Teachers*. These fathers found a sense of empowerment in their ability to improve parenting abilities by participating in support groups as part of training. The findings of *Men as Teachers* suggest that not only should fathers be considered in parent training programs, but also that support groups are a beneficial component of successful parenting programs (Fagan & Stevenson, 1995).

Follow-up and booster sessions. Booster sessions help parents maintain skills and they may be offered through home visits or in a group context (Alvy, 1987; Atkinson, 1997). Teachers and school psychologists can reinforce parents and children across times and settings to utilize parenting skills learned in training (Wood & Baker, 1999).

Program evaluation. Some claim that program evaluation should be culturally competent by involving assessment instruments that have been specifically normed on the population of participants (APA, 2003; Cervantes & Pena, 1998; Herrick & Brown, 1998; Jones, 1985; Tulloch, 1997; Yamamoto & Acosta, 1982; Yung & Hammond, 1998; Zuniga, 1992). However, this may be difficult to do because there are few measures that are normed specifically with culturally diverse populations. Various types of assessments

are more frequently including more representation of diverse cultural groups in their norming process, but it is still important for the researcher to interpret the results of research from a cultural and socio-political hypothesis that allows for culturally appropriate explanations (APA, 2003). Although there is currently a shortage of culturally diverse professionals who are conducting research, it would be helpful to have more published studies that are conducted and interpreted by researchers from the same ethnic background of the participant (APA, 2003). Continued research and development in this area is needed.

Program specifics for recruitment and retention.

The following section will discuss issues related to initially involving families of culturally diverse backgrounds in programs that seek to enhance the parent-child relationship. In addition, suggestions for maintaining family involvement will be made.

Recruitment and retention. Researchers have reported helpful ways to recruit parents that include media broadcasts, written referrals, and posting announcements (Alvy, 1987; Armenta, 1993; Rowland & Wampler, 1983). Enlisting referral agents such as community networks like Head Start and psychological or social agencies as well as police departments, has also proven to be helpful (McGrogan, 1998; Rueda & Martinez, 1992). Once families become involved, keeping them active is important. Retention techniques such as personal or telephone reminders, home visits, and attendance reinforcers are helpful to maintain participation (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Tulloch, 1997). Also, it may be helpful to provide materials covered in a missed session when a

participant cannot attend (Hines & Boyd-Franklin). Newsletters and videotaped sessions are good ways to reach non-attenders (Harachi, Catalano, & Hawkins, 1997; McGrogan; Wood & Baker, 1999). Homework and take-home handouts are important for attending parents so that they can refer to and practice skills as well as learn to apply the concepts at home (McGrogan).

Program components that help alleviate economic barriers. Socioeconomic issues can create barriers to program efficacy because restricted resources affect initial and continued family involvement. Families who live in poverty struggle with survival issues and are prone to drop out of parent training programs (Holden et al., 1990).

Accommodations such as free childcare, transportation, meals or refreshments, and information regarding community and state resources can be offered to encourage continued program participation (Alvy, 1987; Armenta, 1993; Gross, 2001; Leal, 1986; Miller, 1997; McGrogan, 1998; Rueda & Martinez, 1992; Willis, 1992; Zegarra, 1998; Zuniga, 1992). Sessions should be offered in a convenient and neutral familiar location, such as a school, church, or community center, and at convenient and varied times throughout the week (Armenta; Casas & Furlong, 2003; Gross; Spiwak, 1982; Zegarra).

Research on recruitment for ethnically diverse candidates. Armenta (1993) found that the most effective way to recruit Latino American parents was through personal referrals. Harachi et al. (1997) enlisted church staff to recruit Latino- and Samoan-American participants. They used school or community events such as potlucks and pow-wows to recruit African- and Native-American participants; also to recruit Native Americans, it was most effective to involve elders who were well-known and respected to Native

Americans. These researchers found that each group required a high degree of direct, person-to-person contact to become involved (Harachi et al., 1997).

A model program. Dumka et al. (1997) executed an excellent model of program development, implementation, and evaluation of recruitment and retention procedures in their *Raising Successful Children Program (RSCP)*. This study incorporated many of the program design recommendations outlined in this paper. Two inner-city schools made up the final target population that consisted of low-income families; although African American, Anglo American, and Native American families participated, the majority of participants were from Mexican American and Mexican Immigrant backgrounds. Of these families, 21% dropped out before the first session, 22% completed one to four sessions, and 48% (significantly higher than typically reported) completed five to eight sessions; attrition rates were not reported by ethnic group. These parents became the focus groups that identified program barriers and sources of motivation that affected program attendance (Dumka et al., 1997).

Early recruitment took place 9 months before program implementation and involved promotion at parent-teacher meetings. Those who showed interest received newsletters. Then, one month before the program started, home-visits were made where assessment interviews and program scheduling took place. After parents were involved, between-session contacts and reminders for the next session were made. Parents were also continuously given the opportunity to rate the program. All staff members completed a half-day cultural sensitivity workshop and received weekly training supervision. Many staff members shared demographic characteristics with participants and were from the

local community (Dumka et al., 1997).

Parents participated in peer support groups and referrals to community agencies were made when appropriate. Parents role-played new skills and positive feedback from peers was encouraged. Pre-session meals were offered for socialization purposes and sessions ended with positive parenting affirmations. Sessions were scheduled at convenient times and places (home and school) and transportation and childcare were offered. Those who could not attend sessions received a home-visit and a handout from the missed session. To give a permanent product that parents could refer to, parents were given handouts that accumulated into a parent handbook as well as a certificate of completion that was delivered at a graduation ceremony (Dumka et al., 1997).

After monitoring program progress over 2 years, developers of the *RSCP* were able to specify circumstances that affected program attendance. Great effort went into preventing attrition and the detailed account of the strategies this bilingual program employed reveals useful information for future program designs. A detailed description of session content and parent training skills could not be located but it would be interesting as would research on other implementations of this program. The *RSCP* incorporated several of the recommendations that have been outlined in this section and that are highlighted in the literature as being effective accommodations for involving and retaining families in parent-training programs.

The reader is referred to Table 2 for a brief summary of the programs discussed in this paper and the various accommodations they have made to address recruitment and retention issues and thus, enhance family participation and improve effectiveness.

Table 2

Program Characteristics and Accommodations

Title	EBPP	HP- CDC	LNBE	MISD	PIP	Big- foot	STAR	SOS!	SFP	RSCP
Hours	45 hours	550 hours	36 hours	NS:12 sess.	NS:8 sess.	NS:6 sess.	10 hours	NS:5 wks.	NS: 14 sess.	NS:8 sess.
Focus Groups	X	X	X		X				X	X
Home-visit		X								X
School involvement		X		X			X			X
Transportation	X	X		X						X
Meals		X		X						X
Childcare	X	X		X						X
Community Service Referrals		X							X	X
Bilingual Curriculum	NA	X	X	X				X	X	X

Title	EBPP	HP- CDC	LNBE	MISD	PIP	Big- foot	STAR	SOS!	SFP	RSCP
Alternative Discipline Methods	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Developmental Levels	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
Staff: Cultural Insider		X			X	X	X		X	X
Parent Support Groups	X	X								X
Graduation/ Certificate	X	X	X	X	X					X
Research	X	X		X			X	X	X	
Follow-up	X	X					X		X	
Replication		X					X		X	
Low-income Sample	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X

Note: NA: Not Applicable; NS: Not Specified; X: present in program.

EBPP: Effective Black Parenting Program; HP-CDC: Houston Parent-Child Development Center; LNBE: Los Ninos Bien Educados; MISD: Mercedes Independent School District; PIP: Positive Indian Parenting; RSCP: Raising Successful Children Program; SOS! Help for Parents Program; SFP: Strengthening Families Program; STAR: STAR Parenting Program.

Values related to program design and implementation.

Extended family involvement. Views regarding extended families should be considered when appropriate because of their ability to impact cooperation and provide comfort and support during training (Atkinson, 1997; Ford, 1996; Powell, 1995; Powell et al., 1990; Sudarkasa, 1993). The trainer may need to redefine what family is and include extended family members regardless of bloodline relationship (McAdoo, 1981; Rueda & Martinez, 1992; Sue & Sue, 1999). By consulting with parents, the facilitator can discover family dynamics regarding who has direct or indirect influence on childrearing (Alvy, 1987; Hurd et al., 1995; Rulien, 1998). A genogram can be used to construct a description of the extended family structure and it can also help delineate the role of each family member (Bernal et al., 1995; Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Crosbie-Burnett & Lewis, 1993; Green, 1995; Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Paniagua, 1994). Extended family can be invited to participate in parent training and this type of extended family involvement might also prevent unintentional sabotage of techniques that may be new or that may go against tradition (Herring, 1997a; Herring, 1997b; Jarrett, 1995; McAdoo; Tulloch, 1997; Yamamoto & Acosta, 1982; Zegarra, 1998).

Flexibility with time. When working with culturally diverse families, researchers generally recommend keeping a "here-and-now" focus with open-ended sessions that allow for individual appointments or extended session time (DuBray, 1985; Herring, 1997a; Herring, 1997b). Also, because friendships and family events tend to override the dictation of a clock, it is important to be flexible with punctuality and attendance issues

(Paniaqua, 1994; Sue & Sue, 1990).

Physical discipline. Overall, it is likely that culture impacts the way child disobedience is viewed as well as the measures that are taken to reduce it. Because values differ according to culture, the motivation to use certain parenting practices may vary (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Thus, one cultural group may respond to a particular parenting practice or style differently than another. The socialization goals for children, as well as the cultural context in which these goals are motivated, should be considered before professionals prescribe program content or generalize research results that support a particular parenting practice.

Even though the literature suggests that disruptive disorders are not necessarily correlated with physical discipline, most experts agree that there are alternatives to physical discipline and that by using alternative strategies, children are at a reduced risk for experiencing child abuse (Whaley, 2000). Rohner, Kean, and Cournoyer (1991) acknowledge that there is some cross-cultural empirical validation that the use of frequent and severe physical discipline causes negative effects in children and therefore, they claim that encouraging parents to modify the common cultural practice of corporal punishment is not culturally insensitive. Others also advocate for the use of alternative discipline strategies that are "less hostile" (Alvy, 1987).

In order to promote alternative parental discipline actions, it is important to understand the parent motivation behind the use of corporal punishment. The culturally sensitive parent-trainer assesses the functional significance of spanking and the unique perspective some families hold regarding physical discipline. It has been suggested that once the

professional understands the rationale for using physical discipline, he/she can suggest alternative strategies that can serve as an equally effective replacement (Kirkwood, 2000; Whaley, 2000). Many parents believe that physical punishment is effective and not harmful to the child and that it is an act of responsible and good parenting (Kirkwood). Although physical discipline may inspire a child to immediately comply, parents should consider the long term effects; for instance, child compliance may increase but child aggression may also increase.

Because some parents may place a high regard on physical discipline as being very effective, it may be important to approach this issue carefully. Parents who use this method to teach children can be informed of other teaching methods. Discussion of modern discipline trends and practices as well as child abuse laws may help parents to consider perspectives outside of their own (Alvy, 1987). When the trainer emphasizes the benefits of other approaches, a parent may evaluate replacement strategies as equally effective and may be willing to try alternatives to physical discipline (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Stevenson et al., 2001). However, ultimately, it is the parents' choice and because the research is inconclusive on the effects of physical discipline on children, the facilitator must respect the parent's decision. By maintaining a position that there is more than one way to effectively raise a child, professionals can remain careful of imposing values (McDade, 1995; Rulien, 1998; Thomas, 1993).

Culturally-Specific Parent Training Recommendations

Some literature discusses general therapeutic approaches to use when working with culturally diverse families and although they are not all specific to parent training, they may provide some helpful strategies.

African American families.

The literature has described African Americans as generally preferring time-limited services that are goal-oriented, problem-focused, and child-focused (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; Jones, 1985). However, lower SES families also prefer many of these service characteristics and the literature is not always clear about separating these differences out (Jones). To keep African American participants actively involved, a group format may be optimal because it reinforces cultural values regarding community and group cohesiveness (Shipp, 1983). The group leader should be informed about African American history so that content can be tied directly to daily life experiences and behavior can be explained in the context of environmental forces and external events (McAdoo, 1991; Sattler, 1977). Others recommend using a self-help approach rather than a directive approach because with the self-help approach, the ultimate success of the intervention resides in the family and this is more empowering to families (Larrabee, 1986; Paniagua, 1994).

Parham (1996) prescribes using a Rogerian approach that emphasizes empathy and unconditional positive regard combined with an action oriented focus but McRoy and Oglesby (1984) report of a small group of middle-class African American parents who

disagreed. The parents in this study did not feel a Rogerian program was culturally sensitive because of the "lengthy parent-child negotiations" and the "prohibition against physical punishment." These parents also felt uncomfortable engaging in role-play. Although McRoy and Oglesby found some African American parents to find role-play uncomfortable, researchers still recommend utilizing activity-oriented sessions that focus on role-playing and modeling and that allow opportunity for interpersonal exchange between participants as well as interjections during training where participants can express reactions and concerns (Kochman, 1990; Sattler, 1977).

Regardless of the type of approach, the trainer-participant relationship should be based on equality and it is important to ask about fictive kin and the role of each so training can incorporate extended family (Alvy, 1987; Lum, 1992; Mosley-Howard & Evans, 2000; Paniagua, 1994; Slaughter, 1988). In addition to extended family, the church network should be consulted for continued support of training (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982). Many profess how important it is to consult with a minister or pastor for treatment goals and to have them endorse the program (Boyd-Franklin, 1989; Ford, 1996; McAdoo, 1981; McAdoo, 1991; Paniagua; Sue & Sue, 1999; Thomas, 1990; Willis, 1992). The church may be an ideal place to hold training sessions because it is often the place used for educational as well as religious purposes (Billingsley, 1992).

Other recommendations include home visits that may facilitate opening communication lines between professionals and participants (Sattler, 1977; Sue & Sue, 1990). Sue and Sue (1999) also recommend incorporating discussion on the topic of teenage pregnancy because of the high rate of occurrence in the African American

population. The parent trainer should place an equal emphasis on male and female roles (McDade, 1995). Training should incorporate fathers when possible and if a mother is single, one should not assume a father or other male figure is not involved (Hines & Boyd-Franklin, 1982; McAdoo, 1981; Paniagua, 1994). Training should also recognize the role of a grandmother and build the relationship she has with her grandchildren into intervention (McAdoo).

In their book, *Stickin' To, Watchin' Over, and Gettin' With: An African American Parent's Guide to Discipline*, Stevenson et al. (2001) discuss three ingredients to effective African American discipline that are alternatives to physical discipline. They propose that by offering children unconditional love and support, giving them loving supervision and protection, and correcting behavior with loving confrontation and accountability, parents can effectively discipline their children. In addition to teaching children about responsibility and dealing with racism, the book seeks to dispel myths regarding African American parenting while integrating African American cultural styles and strengths to improve parenting. It also discusses differences in parenting between African Americans and Caucasian Americans, the pros and cons to spanking, and offers replacement parent discipline behaviors such as verbal correction, expressing appreciation, and focusing on positive behaviors, and prayer. Although this book offers good parenting advice for African American parents, it does not offer replacement behavioral strategies that are more or equally as effective as spanking. However, it might offer some strategies of how to approach African Americans and physical discipline.

Asian American families.

Although westernized Asian families tend to be more nuclear than non-westernized Asian families, they may still experience complications that are brought on by Western influence. Asian youth are likely to adopt some of the Anglo values (e.g., independence, competition) that dominate American culture while simultaneously maintaining conformity to family tradition (Deeds et al., 1998; Kitano & Maki, 1996). Disharmony can occur when traditional values become diversified with American cultural influence. That is, when parents subscribe to traditional ways and children adhere to dominant values, transgenerational value conflicts can occur (Lin & Liu, 1999; Yee, 1990). Language and socioeconomic barriers often cause elders (immigrant, first-, or second-generation) to become dependent on children, which in turn, upsets the hierarchical family structure. As a result, what was once a respect for authority becomes replaced with a questioning of it (Cheng, 1997).

When Asian American families choose to address transgenerational concerns with family service providers, they may prefer a parenting expert who approaches the family as a collaborator while still assuming an active and directive role (Futa et al., 2001; Paniagua, 1994; Sue & Sue, 1999; Iwamasa, 1993; Murase, 1992; Yamamoto & Acosta, 1982). Family oriented services are appropriate and effective (Hsu, 1995). Cognitive-behavioral approaches should be effective when working with Asian Americans because they are consistent with many Eastern religious practices that emphasize self-control and they are likely to satisfy expectations that Asian Americans may have about receiving immediate effects from services (Paniagua; Sue & Zane, 1987; Tanaka-Matsumi &

Higginbotham, 1996). Also, a homework component may provide evidence of accomplishment and improvement (Iwamasa).

When examining etiology, the interviewer should provide a rationale for asking personal questions and should not expect emotional disclosure. The interviewer should explore the family's hierarchical structure as well as their cultural explanations of perceived problems (Futa et al., 2001; Hsu, 1995). It may be helpful to assess social factors such as ethnocultural heritage, migration experience, acculturation level, experience with racism and discrimination, family structure and support networks, and religious and spiritual beliefs (Suzuki, 1980). More traditional Chinese-American families may see the family expert as an authority and may expect him/her to fix problems, but Hsu (1995) recommends that the family expert be assertive and to remind the family of their responsibility in creating family change.

Hsu (1995) explains that it may be uncomfortable for Chinese-Americans to role-play because performing in front of another may be embarrassing to the participant; parents may also not appreciate being corrected in front of a child when they engage in role-play. The use of paradoxical approaches may also be less preferred by Chinese Americans. Despite identifying problems in various approaches, Hsu identifies strategies that might facilitate Chinese-American family involvement. If the father is present at sessions or interview times, it may be beneficial to speak to him first and then approach the family; this shows respect for family hierarchy but it is also recommended to check with the family first (Hsu, 1995).

Facilitators should also consider that behaviorally based programs utilize strategies

that could potentially conflict with values adhered to by traditional Asian Americans. Important values regarding the extended family and conforming to its hierarchical structure must be considered, especially when it comes to playing with children, negotiation, and implementing behavioral contracts (Lieh-Mak et al., 1984). Also important, are values concerning discipline, praise, fatalism, shame, and seeking medical rather than psychological services (Lieh-Mak et al.; Chan, 1992).

Because standard parent training programs are typically based on western values, more traditional family members may find it difficult to accept unconventional suggestions. Extended family involvement in parent training may be affected by hierarchical tradition that prohibits parents from teaching grandparents new skills because of the superior status they hold. When children are viewed as subordinates, their needs come after elders and novel methods of childrearing may upset traditional values of conformity (Cheng, 1997; Lieh-Mak et al., 1984; Suzuki, 1980). Because of hierarchical role-structure, verbal negotiation and behavioral contracts directly conflict with filial piety and it is not a norm for traditional Asian parents or grandparents to engage in childplay (Lieh-Mak et al.; Rothbaum et al., 2000).

The Asian American view of praise is incongruent with the focus of many parent training programs that seek to increase positive praise because praise is seen as an act that singles a child out and fosters individuality (Lieh-Mak et al., 1984; Rothbaum et al., 2000). Other interventions that may conflict with Asian American values include the reinterpretation of a child's disruptive behavior in terms of the child needing to exhibit control and autonomy, and teaching the child to recognize and label emotional states.

These parenting practices promote individuality, independence, and assertiveness (Rothbaum et al.).

As discussed previously, Asian Americans tend to underutilize professional services and if they are hesitant to seek parent training, it is best to honor the value of “saving face” by avoiding direct confrontation (Futa et al., 2001). Lieh-Mak et al. (1984) discuss one possibility for involving the Asian American who prefers medical treatment over parent training—enlist the doctor to “prescribe” parent training. In addition, Asian American parents may be more likely to follow the doctor’s recommendations if a contract becomes involved. The school may offer additional reinforcement if this contract generalizes to that setting because it instills a sense of public obligation in the Asian American family.

Latino American families.

Behavioral and cognitive-behavioral approaches are likely to be effective when working with Latino American families, especially when they emphasize an environmental focus (Herring, 1997b; Montijo, 1985; Sue & Sue, 1999). Training should involve role-playing and videotaped sessions that can be reviewed and then discussed as a group (Herring). Assessing acculturation levels is essential when working with Latino Americans and this assists the facilitator in helping the family define problems in the context of migration, and acculturative, or economic stressors (Bernal et al., 1995; Hayes, 1997; Lum, 1992; Yamamoto & Acosta, 1982). The trainer should be aware of ways to build rapport with families by engaging in small talk and sharing personal information to

establish a climate of trust and acceptance (Hayes; McGrogan, 1998). Once trust is established, Latinos may expect the service provider to give direct, practical advice (McGrogan).

Other recommended treatment efforts include using Adlerian techniques and *Cuento* therapy, which utilizes folktale to transmit values and reinforce adaptive behavior (Bernal et al., 1995; Herring, 1997b; Newlon et al., 1986; Rogler, Malgady, Constantino, & Blumenthal, 1987; Sue & Sue, 1999). Family therapy is culturally compatible with the value Latinos place on family involvement and may be a good choice of treatment (Bernal et al., 1995; Lum, 1992; Paniagua, 1994). Not only does extended family involvement enhance service efficacy, but so does enlisting the help of a priest, church, and school (Herring; Lum; McGrogan, 1998; Paniagua; Sue & Sue, 1999). The negative stereotypes surrounding *machismo* sometimes leads people to assume fathers will be reluctant to become involved or to allow their families to participate, but this resistance is quite rare and Shapiro and Simonsen (1994) report that father involvement is essential to address the value placed on *machismo* (Falicov, 1982; Marin & Marin, 1991). In traditional families, it may be helpful to interview the father alone to show respect for his authority (Paniagua).

Native American families.

When working with Native American families, it is important to consider the families' tribal structure and beliefs, degree of cultural commitment, and history of rural, urban, or reservation residence (Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Herring, 1997b; LaFromboise et al.,

1990). Culturally appropriate services should be flexible regarding appointment times (Herring, 1997a; Thomason, 1991; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991).

Professionals might be available for times of crisis or spontaneous services and making home visits may be helpful because people in helping positions are expected to be available when needed for as long as needed (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project).

The literature consistently recommends consulting and collaborating with tribal leaders, healers, and elders as well as enlisting extended family members in any treatment plan so that the group's cultural perspectives are constantly considered (Burgess, 1980; Dufrene & Coleman, 1992; Herring, 1997a; Hildebrand et al., 1996; La Fromboise & Howard-Pitney, 1995; LaFromboise et al., 1990; Paniagua, 1994; Red Horse, 1982; Sage, 1996; Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). Family involvement is key to the success of behavioral interventions because they share the responsibility of raising all children in the community (Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Herring, 1997a; Herring, 1997b; McCubbin et al., 1998; Red Horse, 1982; Sage, 1996). Because spirituality is pervasive in all aspects of life, a cultural insider is invaluable for appropriate program development (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project). Depending on the family's needs, it may be more appropriate to collaborate with or refer them to a traditional healer or cultural specialist (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project; Thomason, 1991; Joe & Malach, 1992). Linking services to a traditional healer shows respect and assures treatment appropriateness (Herring, 1997b).

When appropriate, training sessions should be offered on the reservation with endorsement of tribal social services (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991).

Because training should be community based, someone who is not in touch with or well-known in the Native American community would do well to learn about tribal history and spirituality and to assimilate into Native American culture by attending events such as sweat lodges, vision quests, and talking circles (Dufrene & Coleman, 1994; Eyberg, 1993; Heinrich et al., 1990; LaFromboise & Jackson, 1996). This is necessary because a person is accepted based on personal connections in the tribal community rather than professional credentials (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project). At community events, the parent trainer can also make presentations and distribute training materials or brochures to enlist community support (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project).

The Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project (1991) and Dufrene and Coleman (1994) recommend art therapy, dance therapy, music therapy, play therapy, as well as Adlerian or Jungian techniques when working with Native American families. Other authors recommend cognitive-behavioral or other approaches that are group- and action-oriented and that focus on how external events shape behavior (Herring, 1997b; LaFromboise & Jackson, 1996; Paniagua, 1994; Thomason, 1991). Because family therapy emphasizes the family as a unit, this method can be helpful when the definition of "family" is extended to include kin and non-kin members (Kawamoto, 1994).

La Fromboise and Howard-Pitney (1995) have suggested that parent training curricula incorporate personal goals along with community goals that approach issues of suicide, self-esteem and positive cultural identity, emotions, stress, and substance abuse. Because substance abuse is often a response to stress regarding social, familial, and cultural breakdown, cognitive rehearsals can include what to do when offered substances. If

participants wish, sessions can begin and end in prayer and can be formatted with a talking circle where participants bring sacred objects for talking while they express thoughts and feelings without time constraints (Dufrene & Coleman, 1994; Herring, 1997a). Modeling and role-playing activities nicely compliment Native American learning styles (Herring, 1997b; LaFromboise et al., 1990).

The culturally informed facilitator allows plenty of time for the patient to respond and becomes aware of family and tribal history, structure, and beliefs as well age and gender roles, and nonverbal behavior (Thomason, 1991). Although some say the therapist is expected to be dominant and active, others warn against being too directive (Attneave, 1982; Herring, 1997a). Instead of direct questioning and confrontation, it is more congruent to use descriptive statements (Garrett & Garrett, 1994; Thomason, 1991). Although some eye contact is appropriate, peripheral vision may be more effective and the trainer should be comfortable with periods of silence (Attneave; Herring, 1997a; Herring, 1997b). The counselor can practice subtly matching tone of voice, pace of delivery, and degree of eye contact when working with the Native American client and discussing personal accomplishments should be avoided as it places the Native American client in an uncomfortable position (Thomason).

Professionals should be genuine and sincere because trust may be an issue with the non-native professional and this stems from a history of forced assimilation, betrayal, and from being restricted from practicing traditional ways (Davis, 1993; Sue & Sue, 1999; Thomason, 1991). A Native American client may present with a simpler problem at first to test out how the professional responds and to build a sense of trust (Attneave, 1982;

Thomason). Although training participants should not feel pressured to self-disclose, trainers may create more rapport when they offer personal information about themselves (Thomason). An informal intake with little emphasis on putting things in writing is beneficial (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). Doing an intake as a first interaction with the Native American client might be wasting valuable time that would be better served to start with intervention because improvement is expected quickly and the family may not see reason to return if they do not leave with valuable hands-on tools that they can use immediately (Thomason).

CONCLUSION

The Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project (1991) describes culture as an all-encompassing experience that must be lived before it can be fully understood. Because it is impossible to typify any one family structure or culture, it is important to keep in mind that although there may be oversimplified and general descriptions of families, there are unique differences and vast diversities in each family. A perspective that combines cultural characteristics with consideration of social elements such as SES, level of education, acculturation, and ethnic identification is likely best to use when examining the dynamics of most families.

The American Psychological Association describes culturally ethical practices as learning about a client's culture so that this knowledge can be applied in assessment, diagnosis, and treatment (APA, 2003; Tanaka-Matsumi & Higginbotham, 1996). When treatment (e.g., parent training) for non-Western populations is based on Western values, unethical or damaging practices can result in many situations because inappropriate values that infringe upon cultural norms may be imposed (Lerner, 1995; Tanaka-Matsumi & Higginbotham). It is a eurocentric perspective to assume that programs that are effective for European American families are also effective for non-European American families. This type of ethnocentric bias inappropriately generalizes results that are based on mainly Caucasian samples to groups of people who may not adhere to the same values (Whaley, 2000); the result may be therapeutic failure or even damage to the client

(Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991).

Despite the “melting pot” foundation that western culture is based in, there are, and will likely always be, major differences in the diverse cultures that contribute to the diversity and freedom that Americans cherish. Therefore, it is important to avoid a “color-blind” approach that focuses on universal characteristics among groups (American Psychological Association, 2003). Avila and Avila (1995) capture the discord that can exist between western values and the values of those from diverse cultural backgrounds:

Without question, in our present day American society, any child—brown, black, or white—who is not adamantly achievement and competition oriented; is unquestioning of authority, submissive, and uninterested in material things; is more loyal to a group than to him/herself; and considers females to be inferior- is in trouble. (p. 138)

It has been proposed that in order to truly accommodate all people’s parenting needs, parent training services should be founded on culturally-specific values and practices (Swinomish Tribal Mental Health Project, 1991). The idea of employing mainstream services as an enhancement or adjunct to culturally-specific services is proposed as one that will create improved efficacy of parent training programs. However, the majority of these recommendations are not empirically based and therefore, it is clear that more empirical information is needed regarding the effectiveness of culturally-specific parent training programs.

Also important is the need to determine which elements make a program culturally-specific and effective for ethnically diverse populations. In this research, it will be important to tease out the effects of SES and ethnicity so that clear conclusions that are

specifically related to ethnicity and cultural values are made. It will also be essential to conduct research in a way that is culturally sensitive and this may require using or developing assessment instruments that are culturally appropriate. All in all, the focus should be on what works for culturally diverse families and not on what is problematic or culturally different (Stauss, 1995). It is best to accept the cultural system of the client and work from within that system rather than impose new beliefs or values.

This paper has highlighted attempts that have been made to offer culturally appropriate parent training services. Overall, there are few culturally specific programs and even fewer that have empirical analyses. More research is needed before conclusions on the effectiveness of these programs can be made. In general, of the programs that have empirical analysis, they have succeeded in reducing inappropriate discipline and problematic child behaviors and in increasing pro-parenting behaviors; however, not all programs show long-term effects. A general implication of this literature review is that the area of culture, values, and parent training is one that deserves continued and improved efforts.

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